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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2238

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HUNGARIAN SUPPORTS SCHAFF IN POLISH DEBATE

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 11 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Pal Tamas: "The Wavering Prophet"]

[Text] On the photographs he is an old man with sad eyes. Bitter wrinkles surround his mouth. At audience with the Pope. They are approximately of equal height. Adam was 70 last March.

As a student of the University of Lvov he joins the illegal Communist Party in 1932. Like so many urchin intellectuals, the young college-graduate lawyer-economist goes to Paris. The war carries him along to the Soviet Union. He is manager of the Polish service of Radio Moscow since 1944. In 1945 he returns home with a fresh diploma of Ph.D. He does some research and makes inroads into politics; becomes one of the leading personalities of the social science workshops that are cropping up in his reviving country. Is a member of the Central Committee of the PZPR and of the Academy of Sciences. Is director of the party school and of the Philosophical-Sociological Institute of the Academy. He is hurt (his wounds have apparently nicely healed) and inflicts wounds on others (some of them are obviously slow to heal). His friendship with Gomulka lasts for decades. At the time of political changes his writings are rousing again the tempers. In 1956 he attacks the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski. Although their philosophical systems are quite different, in 1968 they both become targets of attacks by the conservatives. Schaff then resigns from all his offices, withdraws from Polish public life and goes to Vienna.

He is president-director of the European Sociological Coordination Center which organizes the joint activities of Eastern and Western sociological researchers. He is welcomed by the jet-set of international sciences. Becomes a member of the top leadership of the Club of Rome. His book on the social impact of micro-electronics is a best-seller. And he continues to be active in politics. Unraveling Eurocommunism attracts him in the first place. Many of his studies are published in magazines of the West European Left. He often meets the leaders of the Italian CP and goes particularly frequently to Spain. As a private scholar, commuting between Vienna and Warsaw, in 1982 he publishes his study on "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," which is a synthesis of his experiences and the dilemmas of the European Left and the Polish process. In the beginning of 1983 he speaks out again in his homeland. "At present the issue is no longer how the Party should compromise, but it is the very existence of Poland," he writes.

It is a typical East European career story.

Since last spring his writings and statements have been often published in magazines and cultural weeklies of Warsaw and Cracow. Schaff's essays have provoked the first debates in the Polish press which tried to put all what happened between the Oder and the Bug since 1980 in a theoretical framework.

"Should we speak about the crisis of Marxism or the Marxists in Poland?" Schaff wonders. To answer this question properly it is worthwhile to draw some historic parallels. In Poland we have witnessed three ideological earthquakes, i.e., in connection with the events during the summer of 1956, in March 1968 and in August 1980. During all these periods "political beliefs" came to nought. Confidence in the correctness and validity of Marxism, as the guide of the official ideology, was badly shaken. As the unresolved problems did accumulate, so did the masses of skeptics and dissidents.

The contours of the recurring discussions have changed essentially. Both those who demanded change and those who obstructed them considered themselves as the representatives of "true" and "authentic" Marxism and charged their antagonists in the polemics with false interpretation of the Marxist heritage of thought. However, since 1968 a growing sector of the critics of the existing political model stopped arguing in the name of "true" Marxism and ceased to demand a "return to the roots" and to "creative ideological development." Instead in the wake of the recurring failures and growing number of problems, they rejected not only the regime but also its declared ideology. By the early 1980s such groups have been proliferating and probably becoming--above all among youths and intellectuals--the majority.

All this is perceived by most of the public as a general crisis of Marxism. It was difficult to skirt this problem: did the ever deepening social and economic crises of the last decades not corrode also the philosophy to which the political leadership has constantly referred? After all, also Marxism emphasized the importance of practice and experience in the analysis of the relationship between theories and reality.

In Schaff's opinion, however, the problems observed are the failures of the Polish Marxists (as a political and ideological group) "alone," rather than those of theory. Moreover the hitherto revolutionary process justifies Marx's original thought about socialist revolution. The domestic difficulties of the East European socialist countries are to some extent "pre-programmed." They are the consequences of the fact that the revolution came into being in societies which lack the degree of maturity that the German Marxist ideology had considered as the condition sine qua non of a revolutionary process. They are, so to say, "prematurely born." Some of the Polish communists realized this even during the last years of the war (Schaff points here to certain 1943 documents known as the "political testament of Alfred Lange" which have never been completely published). The the power sphere of world politics of the second half of the 1940s radical decisions appeared to be justified. But we still have to suffer their consequences. In order to make a step forward and to explore the possibility of solutions, sharp debates and clashes between the various trends are needed. For--writes Schaff--"The clashes between

Marxists of various tendencies have promoted the development of Marxism rather than hurting it." However, the struggle between ideas and the practice of confrontation of scientific theories should be "stripped" from elements which do not belong to them. There is only one right way, i.e. that of the dialogue between equals in which none has the authority to spell out final decisions and to proclaim the "supreme truth."

In certain areas, of course, we cannot incur risks. But the petty discussions on whether or not one or the other creation of creative arts or music should be considered socialist cannot be justified with any measure of sharp class struggle--says Schaff. And--provoking a series of personalistic attacks--he clearly stated: "Socialism in Poland has to be defended not only against the extremists of the Solidarnosc, but at least as much against the sectarian-dogmatic tendencies appearing in our own movement." The ideological offensive cannot be coopted by administrative pressure (that occurs according to the articles participating in the ideological debate time and again). Nor can it be replaced by a growing number of bureaucratic measures. The dilemma lies in the fact that the bureaucracy not only defends tenaciously its positions but that it is also convinced that it thereby defends Marxism.

Thinking back on the last couple of years, I can hardly remember the vehement philippics which followed, over half a year, the articles which prompted them. Most participants in the debate attacked Schaff. Their arguments, and above all their debating style, may be helpful for testing the temper of the Polish intellectual ambiance.

In the first place, none of the commentators who discussed the topics of the debate belongs to the hierarchy of leading Polish intellectuals. It may have happened, of course, that in view of the present division among intellectuals the weekly *TU I TERAZ* (Here and Now), which provided more space than any other publication for the debate, did not appear to them the appropriate forum. This cultural periodical, which was started last year, is designed to replace the *LITERATURA ES KULTURA* which was abolished at the beginning of the state of martial law. Its editors, Kozniewski and Safjan, were leading personalities of the group of writers who in July demanded the dissolution of the old Writers' Union and the foundation of a new one. But it may also have happened that the majority of sociologists and publicists who, in the sense of Schaff's analysis, are also "quoted abroad" think that at present they have nothing to do with this debate. At the same time it is also thought-provoking that not even in Schaff's writings, which demand openness and dialogue, could I trace any reference to a realistic chance of a Polish dialogue between Marxists and non-Marxists.

In the second place, the irritated tone and arguing style of most commentators reveal that--because of their background as propagandists or teachers--they feel that the cap fits. However, according to them there is no crisis, only the opportunists have given up their positions of fight. A smaller group of commentators (among them Orzechowski, who is a Central Committee secretary in charge of ideological questions, writing in the theoretical magazine of the PZPR, *NOWE DROGI*), are using a correct tone in contrast with the majority of the polemizing articles. These ideologists are arguing indeed with Schaff's

Eurocommunist analysis of the Polish situation. They take exception with his theory of "premature birth" and with his assessment of some political events of the recent past. But they respect their dialogue partner and make efforts to use arguments instead of labels of denunciation.

The debate is going on. The present publicistic stage, which is necessarily somewhat superficial and points only at the contours of the problem, will reportedly be followed by studies and professional books. Hopefully all this may mark the start of a genuine dialogue. Or as Schaff put it: "Marxism has all the potentials to emerge victorious from this battle. But only an 'open' and 'creative' Marxism will be able to do so, a Marxism which is not limited to declaratory phraseology but says the basic truth, and dismissing taboos raises new questions seeking fearlessly the answers to them. This requires brains, but in addition Marxists should be surrounded by an atmosphere of free thinking and searching. The history of our movement hardly allowed this during the last decades... If there will be no radical change in this area, that at last would make it possible for Marxists to think, then our cause is lost.

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HONECKER ADDRESSES FDJ MEMBERS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Address of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman, at meeting with FDJ members in the Central Committee building on 4 November 1983]

[Text] Dear Friends and Comrades:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee I most cordially thank you for your outstanding achievements in the central youth projects of the FDJ "GDR Pipeline Construction" and "USSR Natural Gas Route." As the youth brigade leaders Dietmar Anton and Reinhard Zehmke reported all tasks were fulfilled ahead of schedule and in high quality. The implementation of these great projects is of extraordinary value for the strengthening of socialism, for the national economy of our country, and for your ever closer link with the potential of the Soviet Union.

With your working deeds you, dear friends and comrades, you contribute to implementing the economic strategy of the 1980's decided by the 10th SED Congress. This creates the prerequisite to replace over 900,000 tons of heating oil with gas. Our domestic energy resources can be used even more efficiently in this way.

We are pleased that the central youth project "GRD Natural Gas Pipeline Construction" can be concluded today ahead of plan. In only 20 months--as we have just been informed--altogether 949 kilometers of long-distance natural gas pipelines were laid and 742 kilometers of them within the frame work of the Central Youth Project.

Confrontation Policy Answered With Deeds

Here the FDJ delegates from all Bezirke of our republic have excellently stood their test. The exemplary work of the comrades of our National People's Army deserves high recognition. Working people of many enterprises, in particular the coal and energy economy as well as the construction and equipment industry, have an active share in overcoming these tasks. They were excellently supported by the state and social forces in the territories.

I read with great interest the letter which the builders of the Ivano-Frankowsk section from the GDR wrote together with their Soviet and Polish colleagues. You have fulfilled honorably your commitment to start operation of the linear part of the natural gas pipeline ahead of schedule. In the meantime new working records are reported from the Lipetsk section. I most cordially congratulate you on that on behalf of the Central Committee and the Politburo of our party. [Prolonged strong applause. Cheers to the gas route builders.]

The performance of all pipeline builders are the best answer to those imperialist confrontation politicians who wanted to prevent this pipeline from being built and from having Soviet natural gas supplied to Western Europe. Neither sanctions nor boycotts were able to stop the construction of the pipeline. That is an important success for the policy of peaceful cooperation and the improvement of the international relations. This is an important success which proves that socialism is in the position to successfully solve all problems. (Prolonged, stormy applause.)

#### The Fraternal Countries Unite Potentials

Dear friends, the joint construction of pipelines in the USSR helps in more quickly developing raw materials. It guarantees us a long-term stable supply of natural gas. Also in future we will contribute to deepening socialist economic integration as we have agreed during our friendship visit in the Soviet Union in May this year with Comrade Yuriy Andropov. The "Sixth Festival of Friendship Between The Youth of the USSR and the GDR" in Moscow and Kiev has once again demonstrated that the Leninist Komsomol and the FDJ are among those in the forefront in implementing these tasks. That has been like that, is like that, and will remain like that forever. (Prolonged strong applause. Cheers to the FDJ and the Komsomol.)

As all the world can see the socialist countries are combining their power for peaceful purposes. This makes them all the more economically invulnerable to all attempts by imperialism to harm our community through embargo measures. Socialist construction can thus proceed all the better in our countries.

Dear friends and comrades!

Today's report takes place on the eve of the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Through its victory the world has been enormously changed. In many countries of the world where since then the workers and peasants have assumed power, where they have eliminated exploitation of man by man, it has been proven that peoples can freely develop if they take their fate into their own hands. This is also confirmed by the development of the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil the 35th anniversary of which we are preparing jointly.

#### USSR-The Strongest Support of Peace

Especially today the Soviet Union, the community of the fraternal countries is the strongest support of world peace. From here the most powerful stimuli for the struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe are emanating, a catastrophe which would mean the end of human civilization. The deployment of new U.S.

first strike weapons in accordance with the NATO Brussels missiles decision would be a fateful step to increasing the dangers for peace. We oppose this with our resolute resistance. Here we know ourselves one with millions of people from all countries of Western Europe and the United States itself who only a few days ago have once again demonstrated their opposition to the American deployment plans and their will for disarmament in enormous mass actions.

The GDR fully supports the clear view on the international situation and the new initiative for an agreement in Geneva presented by Comrade Yuriy Andropov. The USSR and the socialist countries unchangingly are undertaking every effort to guarantee that Europe and the world can enter the way of a secure peace.

#### Friendship of Our Peoples Deepens

Dear friends, to struggle for socialism, to strengthen and defend it has always been one of the first priorities of the youth. I like to recall my work in building the "Vladimir Ilich Lenin" metallurgical combine in Magnitogorsk in summer of 1931. We seek communists who left for the south of the Urals to help to set up this center project of the first 5-year plan. About 70 percent of the construction workers from Magnitogorsk were young people, above all Komsomol members. On this site the beginning was made to create Komsomol brigades which took the construction of individual industrial projects into their own hands. On the place where a largely untouched mountain of iron ore had been, there the first steel was produced in 1933. During the great Patriotic War Magnitogorsk was already the backbone of the Soviet national defense, the decisive basis for the defeat of Hitler. (Prolonged, strong applause.)

Then, just as today, the enthusiasm and energy of the youth contribute to preserving and securing peace. Then, as today, the young generation is making an essential contribution to shaping the socialist society.

Your cooperation with the Soviet comrades and friends shows how vivid and fruitful the friendship between our people is. The struggle of youth brigades for honorary names of Soviet heroes, the socialist competition, and the exchange of experiences have deepened the traditional cooperation between the FDJ and the Leninist Komsomol. Many personal friendships were made. The experiences in Soviet Union, we are firmly convinced, will not be forgotten by you.

You all have taken over the traditions of the "Druzhba Pipeline" and continued it. Many pipeline builders were participating then and are now conveying their experiences to the present FDJ generation.

Also the working people of the participating enterprises in the GDR have made great achievements for the building of the natural gas route in the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the youth brigades, youth researchers' collectives, young innovators and all working people in these enterprises will support your work by good equipment and technologies. Finally such important economic projects and central youth projects of our FDJ are always also a concern of the entire republic.



Dear friends, for communist education it is of great importance to hand over decisive national economic tasks to the FDJ as youth projects. Here the young generation can stand its test.

From this meeting we welcome all FDJ members and working people participating in the central youth projects--in the FDJ initiative Berlin, in the electrification of railroads, in the central youth project "Chemical Fibre Materials" in the Havelland fruit area, and in the FDJ animal production initiative. Many stimuli are emanating from your youth projects for the work of the FDJ basic organization so that they can fulfill their great task to be loyal helpers of our SED even better than so far. (Prolonged strong applause. Cheers to the SED and the FDJ.)

Next year we will celebrate the 35th anniversary of our GDR. Everywhere one can experience how well our youth is preparing for that in the "FDJ peace drive." We are convinced that your national youth festival, as an association meeting of the FDJ, will turn into a powerful manifestation for our socialist home country and that you will achieve new great deeds for the well-being of our republic in socialist competition. "My deed for our socialist home country"--that is a modern slogan for any youth of our country.

#### Cadres are Forged in Youth Projects

In overcoming challenging tasks, the youth grows. Here anyone can demonstrate his knowledge and ability. Strength of character and initiative are developing. Young cadres are challenged and promoted. We are glad that many FDJ members have found their way to our party, the party of the workers class, by your youth projects. (Stormy applause, cheers to the party of the workers class.) Cadres are forgotten in youth projects.

Dear friends and comrades, the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers agreed with the proposal of the FDJ Central Council to honor meritorious members of the FDJ, members of the National People's Army and other working people with high state awards. We are very glad to be able to honor the Bogorodchanij construction collective from the Ivano Frankovsk section and the collective of the construction management of the compressor station at the Lipetsk section for outstanding achievements in socialist competition with honorary banners of the SED Central Committee. (Prolonged strong applause, cheers to Erich Honecker and the honored collectives and friends.)

I congratulate you most cordially. I wish you further success at your work, much pleasure, and all the best in your personal life. Please convey to your families our thanks and our greetings. (Prolonged stormy applause, cheers to the SED Central Committee, the Politburo and the general secretary. Cheers to the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR.)

CSO: 2300/110

FRG REPORTS CONTRAST OFFICIAL, UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENTS

Government Rallies, Calculated Events

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 23 Sep 83 pp 17-19

[Article by Joachim Nawrocki, political commentator: "Peace Must Be Armed"]

[Text] The SED has no problem accomplishing in its country what the CDU had planned for the FRG: 10,000 peace rallies all over the country. On Berlin's Alexander Square 250,000 people demonstrate "for peace, against arms buildup." A solidarity bazaar under the slogan "Down with the NATO missile resolution," a Free German Youth initiative entitled "My best achievement for the world peace rally" are to strengthen socialism and guarantee peace. An open cross-country race becomes the "expression of the desire for peace among our athletes."

According to a statement by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker, this government activism is to prove the thesis that socialism and peace are identical, and his politburo colleague Werner Walde feels that the entire GDR represents a service of peace. Since the GDR itself is a peace movement, according to the official state doctrine, and since the state always wants the same thing as all of its citizens, a peace movement independent of the state would not only be superfluous but also counterproductive. As a consequence, the state and party press makes no mention of it. Peace marches in the FRG are well-covered in the GDR press, but reports on events like the peace workshop in East Berlin or the peace forum in Dresden--each of which were attended by several thousand participants--were at best permitted to appear in church publications, which are heavily censored by the state whenever it is considered necessary.

Nevertheless, the members of the nonstate peace movement are very well informed about what is going on in the country. Information travels by "underground radio" and there is also mouth-to-mouth propaganda. There is really a lot of interaction, because the meager cultural offerings in the small GDR require that particularly young people are constantly on the move. One goes wherever one can see a worthwhile exhibit, a promising rock concert; one meets like-minded people and has an address where one can spend a night--"best regards from Jagger."

Peace movement, rock sense, counterculture, ecology groups--all these things are extraordinarily complex, intertwined, disorganized; nevertheless, it affects the entire country. The fact that it is practically impossible to organize in a country, the constitution of which does, after all, guarantee freedom of assembly and congregation, forces the nongovernmental peace movement to seek refuge in existing organizational forms--to be precise, churches--or be splintered. It is a crucial difference when compared to conditions in the West and for a long time it has not been the only one. Every state has a peace movement corresponding to its system.

The GDR system forces society into an official and a private existence, into an external and an internal world. As a result there are two peace movements in the GDR: one which is not only sanctioned by the state but has also been initiated by it and one which is not trusted at all and tolerated only within strict limitations.

To be sure, the size of the official peace movement over there is significant but its effect does not go beyond the policies as proclaimed by the state anyway, thus, in the end it is irrelevant. The nonstate peace movement, on the other hand, is small. It has only an insignificant number of members, at the most several tens of thousands of supporters and sympathizers, a minority frequently overestimated in the West. But it is becoming more popular and effective. And the more it increases in strength, the more its supporters will lose the debilitating fear on which the state is counting. A member of the Jena peace group who is now living in the West says: "We had to free ourselves from fear, because that is what they want: fear. We simply have to have enough courage to believe in what we do. Then many things will be much easier."

As far as the prevailing ideology of communist states is concerned, peace--"like everything else--is a class question. Permanent peace can only be secured permanently in a society which no longer depends on private ownership of production means and on class antagonism," according to a definition in the Kleines politisches Woerterbuch [Little Political Dictionary] of the GDR.

As a consequence, a danger of war can only come from the so-called imperialist states or from counterrevolutionary forces. This theory does not take into account the fact that in view of the excessive arms buildup and reaction times that get progressively shorter, a war may result from an inadvertence, a technical failure or--as happened near Sakhalin--a maniacal security concern.

Accordingly, peace can only be guaranteed when socialism is strong, when there is not only a military balance but a superiority of the Warsaw Pact states. Already at the end of 1975, Minister for National Defense Heinz Hoffman made the following statement: "We do not share the opinion held even by progressive people in the peace movement, according to which a just war is no longer possible in the nuclear age and a war with nuclear missiles would no longer represent a continuation of the politics of the warring classes but rather it would be nothing but a nuclear inferno, the end of the world."

In other words: According to the military doctrine of the GDR, it is possible to conduct and win a nuclear war and it can be absolutely justified.

Furthermore: It is sweet and honorable to die for the fatherland. A book on Soviet military ideology, which is also binding on the GDR, contains the following statement by Major-General Milovidov and Colonel Safranov: "A war for the defense of the socialist fatherland is beautiful; of course, not because of the destruction of material things, the death of people and outward effects, but because of its high and noble goal, sublime aspirations, heroic deeds.... Such a struggle...evokes strong and pure emotions, develops in man something truly beautiful and humane. In other words, even those members of the peace movement who consider themselves loyal citizens of the GDR have a lot to discuss.

The GDR came up with a suitable statement to counter the slogan of the Western peace movement, "Make peace without weapons." It was "Peace must be armed." The official peace activities of the state are proceeding accordingly. Young people are transported to peace demonstrations in military trucks. They carry banners with statements that were formulated by the SED Central Committee. Their appearances and marching columns are rigid and organized, the speeches of leading functionaries are punctuated with well-rehearsed choruses shouting slogans like "peace, friendship, solidarity" or "GDR--our fatherland." Only gradually the organizers are learning to add a few elements reflecting the Western Style of national festivals of peace fairs.

As a rule, the official peace movement is comparatively dull and uninteresting. Wherever the state considers itself in the service of peace, all parties and organizations are working in this service of peace as conceived by the leadership of party and state. As is customary, almost all socialist competitions are publicized as successful initiatives by individual citizens. "My best accomplishment for the world peace rally," the most recent nation-wide Free German Youth action, was allegedly the idea of Ramona Gailus, a textile worker from Thuringen. "Now her joy is great, because her initiative sparked enthusiasm," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports. Of course, everybody in the GDR knows since the pieceworker Adolf Hennecke, that such competitions are hatched by the party apparatus, which only has to find someone who will let his name be used to give the impression that everything is spontaneous.

Furthermore, evidence of the widespread citizen approval for the GDR peace policy was to be expressed in a declaration of intent which was signed by 13.1 million people--96 percent of all GDR citizens above the age of 14--following an appeal by the National Front in the fall of 1979: "We demand: No new nuclear missiles in West Europe--instead, steps toward disarmament! No arms race--instead, the continuation of detente!" Since then hundreds of similar resolutions have been written by athletes, artists, writers, scientists, Free German Youth members, student brigades, workers, conference participants. The contents is always the same. It was summarized most succinctly in a letter written by East Berlin children and addressed to the UN secretary-general: "There should always be peace. No U.S. missile must destroy our happy future!" As far as the state peace movement is concerned, it is taboo to ask the question, "What about us, is it not time for us to count our own missiles?" The question was asked by a young person during the Dresden peace forum, an event organized by the Protestant Church in February 1982.



The GDR Peace Council is the official state organ for desirable peace activities. It was founded in 1949 as the "German Committee of Fighters for Peace," later it was renamed German Peace Council and following Ulbricht's invention of the demarcation theory it received the name of GDR Peace Council. Professor Guenther Drefahl, its president and not a member of any party, said: "We, the representatives of all the classes of our people who are involved in the united peace movement, are fighting side by side with the party of the labor class." Representatives from all parties and mass organizations belong to the Peace Council. Its official goals are peaceful coexistence, renunciation of threat and use of force, a ban on means of mass destruction, but also the support of national liberation struggles in the Third World.

Its most important tasks: the collection of signatures, the planning of rallies, the cooperation with communist peace groups in West Europe. But apparently it is not resourceful enough to pay attention to the unofficial peace movement in its own country. According to a member of the Jena peace group, "We expected a visit from the Peace Council. The only thing that happened after many attempts was a talk with Professor Drefahl. He told us, if you want to work for peace, get together with the Free German Youth. He rejected all other possibilities. And the Free German Youth did not want to talk to us."

#### Rock for Peace

The emergence of an unofficial peace movement, which for the most part has found protection under the roof of the church, created a new task for the state-organized peace work. Its functionaries tried, after a fashion to undo the actions of the independent peace movement. In the process, Western behavior patterns are frequently imitated. Recently, for instance, a "committee of GDR physicians for the prevention of a nuclear war" was formed following a Western example. It is definitely a part of the state peace movement. Peace movement slogans were seized upon, such as "Make peace without weapons," and changed ("Make peace against NATO weapons"). Memorial days that are planned by independent groups (the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima) are sidetracked by events planned by the state--another trick which the party learned from the independent peace movement, which--on its part--is looking for symbols and quotations which are as unassailable as possible. On 1 May, for instance, young people used official SED peace slogans and joined a peace demonstration on the "Day of Fighting Groups," but they were quickly removed.

In the early summer of 1982, pacifist Christians in the East Berlin district of Prenzlauer Berg were planning a children's festival for peace. They also asked the children's organization "Young Pioneers" to participate and put up a booth. Three days before the event, the leaders of the Pioneers suddenly insisted on erecting a shooting gallery. As a result, the purpose of the plan had been foiled, the original initiators withdrew and the Young Pioneers were in charge of everything.

At the beginning of 1982, following the example of Western concerts, the GDR planned a "Rock for Peace" concert under the motto "Rock against the Right." All well-known rock groups in the GDR participated. To be sure, since the breakup of the Renft-Combo in 1974 most of the GDR rock groups are more or less

following the party line. But the Central Committee cannot come up with any rock lyrics and the musicians cannot find any melodies that are suitable for the awkward official language used by functionaries. Consequently you may hear songs that talk about "alienation and war" (Lift) or the question is raised "Is our world dancing with itself in a fever?" (Karat). In other words, the lyrics by rock musicians are often on the borderline of what the state can tolerate.

Thus, the rock scene in the GDR is simultaneously the border between the external and the internal world. "Nobody goes there because of the peace propaganda but because of the music. You know there are people who are on the same wavelength as you are. It is our music and not their's, no matter whether the 'collective Puhdys' receive the national prize ten times."

Today's unofficial peace movement in the GDR is something that emerged from the rock scene, the counterculture with its poetry readings, private showings, taped recordings and the black market of books as well as the sphere of influence of the churches. At the same time a parallel exists between the emergence of this movement and the increasing militarization in the GDR. The state's peace propaganda was becoming more and more contradictory to the daily experiences of GDR citizens. A climax of this development was the introduction in 1978 of military instruction in the 9th and 10th grade, which also met with protest from the churches.

Ten years earlier, when he was still in East Berlin, Wolf Biermann wrote: "War is enjoying its peace / Quietly. The country is quiet. Still." The country was still quiet and only intellectuals like Biermann were causing unrest. In 1976 Biermann was sent into involuntary exile. He was followed by numerous writers, actors, singers, musicians. Those who stayed--with a few exceptions, like Stefan Heym and Rolf Schneider--are quiet, resigned or in line with the state. Furthermore, in the GDR one has only one choice, either one studies or one arouses the suspicion of the state. As a result, the people who are causing trouble today are not intellectuals but others: young people, apprentices, workers, Christians, pacifists, social workers. This is another important difference when compared with the Western peace movement.

This new generation which is emerging in the GDR has different values or is acquiring them in the course of a thinking and perception process. They want to live differently, and because the young people who get involved do no longer remember the most brutal methods of Stalinist repression and persecution and because they do no longer have to fear them, it is no longer a matter of life and death. To be sure, they risk their careers in a state which they do not want the way it is, and they are even willing to go to prison for their convictions.

One of the expatriates from Jena states: "Everything is different from the way it is in the West. The young people are beginning to think about the world, about environmental protection, the danger of war, human rights, all these things belong together. In school there is military training; in the 9th grade there is premilitary education. Even the reaching contract contains a preprinted clause stating that one will participate in the premilitary

instruction. And then comes the decision: Are you going to conform? In other words, you are going to go along with everything even if you do not agree with it inwardly, because you want to achieve something. Or you say no and try to make sense out of it. And then the difficulties begin."

### Years in Prison

It does not take long for difficulties to begin for GDR citizens who do not want to take the paths of peace prescribed by the state. The impossibility to get information, to organize, to plan demonstrations, print flyers or spread one's own opinion over the radio or through the press brings up questions which the independent peace movement did not ask at the outset: questions about human rights, the correlation between inner and outer peace.

Peter Roesch of the Jena peace group explains: "In January, following a discussion in the youth church, we wanted to write an open letter to Brezhnev and Reagan. We talked about it for a long time and then we said to ourselves, the letter will never get there, it will never leave the post office since it has its own state security system." Instead they planned to mimeograph the draft of the letter and distribute it to all the youth churches for discussion. Two days later every member of the group was arrested and all the copies of the letter were confiscated. And yet, the letter contained only one thing, a call to undertake concrete steps for disarmament in the East and in the West.

"When something is to be set in motion in the GDR," Roesch adds, "there is always some loss of people. Somehow they become victims of the system. There are suicides, people land in prison or they do what they are doing right now, they sit in a pizzeria in the West."

Of course, there are also GDR citizens who came to the West on the coattails of the peace movement. But only a small minority of those who are now living in the FRG or in West Berlin came altogether voluntarily, although they may not have been expelled by force, as happened to Roland Jahn. Whoever refused to join military service and bear arms and does not want to be a construction soldier either because of his convictions, or whoever changes his opinion upon completion of his military service, saying that he does not want to stay in the reserves, will almost inevitably have to go to jail. Raoul Amon from Jena, Friedensstrasse 17, has been behind bars since May 1982. When he registered for the draft, he failed to indicate his desire to become a construction soldier. He did not refuse military service until it was time for the oath of allegiance to the flag and then it was too late.

Whoever calls attention to himself by working in the peace movement is under surveillance, he is interrogated, his conversations are listened to and sometimes he is followed wherever he goes. "They even accompanied me to the clinic," Peter Roesch reported. "It was not funny any longer. I had it up to here." Another person, who was cleaning help at the theater, relates that his constant companions actually admitted openly who they were. When he swept the stairs they said: "Be sure and sweep everything clean." When he was working until late in the evening, they asked the janitor how much longer it would last; they wanted to go home too.



The results is psychological pressure. Many people can stand it for a while, but others give in, primarily out of consideration for their families.

Michael Rost, a trained plumber who, like Roesch comes from Jena, says: "It is a regular process of expulsion. There are many people who simply cannot take it any longer and they say to themselves: 'Well, I guess, I'll go,' but it is a difficult decision. The number of conscription soldiers and people who refuse to do any kind of military service has risen dramatically, and most of them subsequently apply for exit visas. I know only one person who endured 2 years in prison. As a result, attempts are in progress to criminalize people who express themselves about peace questions and to label them as enemies and slanderers of the state."

Peter Roesch: "Whoever claims that all we wanted was to go to the West: I was involved for 7 or 8 years, and only then I applied for an exit visa. Of course, it took only 1 month to get the approval. Everything went smoothly. Suddenly all the authorities treated me very friendly and removed all my problems." The state was happy to get rid of another uncooperative citizen.

Considering these circumstances, it is only natural that large segments of the--incidentally, very heterogeneous--independent peace movement are gathering under the roof of the church. It does not mean by a long shot that all of them are Christians. But their goal and their demand unite them all. In these facilities, free from the state, the peace groups can at least talk openly, although the protection of the church is not limitless. And the church, particularly the Protestant Church, can use this opportunity for its so-called open youth work and open its doors to non-Christians and fringe groups, address wider circles of the population and offer them help and refuge.

The peace movement and the church have benefited each other. Many church workers come directly from the peace movement. Rainer Eppelmann, a Berlin pastor who in 1981 composed the "Berlin Appeal"--which was rejected by the state and the church--was a bricklayer by trade. In 1966 he became a construction soldier, he went to prison because he refused to follow orders, later he studied theology and since 1975 he has been a minister.

Eppelmann is not a unique case: Many church workers and pastors of the younger generation are former construction soldiers or men who refused military service. They brought fresh ideas to the church, are more decisive in their thinking and actions, but they are also more intimately aware and part of the structures in the GDR than older ministers are, who, as a rule, keep their distance from the state and also feel somewhat helpless. Rainer Eppelmann: "This terrible mentality of caution, which has been practiced almost to the degree of perversion, undermined the Christian existence in this country. As a result, church life in the GDR is bought at too high a price."

#### Grass Roots Put Pressure on Bishops

"The church is moving along well," Christina Klingenberg says. She came from the Christian peace movement. "They always offered us understanding and then there was the famous word 'but' and many things were retracted." And Peter

Koesch adds: "One has to see the difference between the grass roots and the superstructure. The superstructure is conservative. It does not react until there is pressure from the grass roots. The bishops did not approach the state with the problem of introducing a social peace service as a substitute for military service until more than 4,000 signatures had been gathered. At the grass roots level there have to be groups all the time who come up with initiatives. But something is changing."

Of course, the church in the GDR has been working for peace since the existence of the state. One of the first synods of the Protestant Church in Germany--1950 in Weissensee--was dedicated to peace. Furthermore, efforts by the church are directly responsible for the fact that in 1964, 2 years after the introduction of compulsory military service, an opportunity was created to serve without arms as a construction soldier. None of the other East bloc states offers anything comparable. In November 1965 an offer of "assistance" was adopted "for the ministry to draftees," according to which the service as construction soldier or total refusal to serve was "a more significant sign of the current demand for peace" than the service with arms. In the eyes of the government it constituted disregard for laws and it demanded that the offer be officially withdrawn but only one church complied, the Protestant Church in Thuringen.

Churches did not begin their "open youth work" until the beginning of the 1970's, when they tried to deal with the problems of young people: life in the GDR and the alternatives, the misery in the Third World, rock music, sexuality, alcoholism and--only gradually it moved into the foreground--the militarization and peace. Church halls began to fill. Blues masses in East Berlin attracted thousands of young people. Youth services, weekend workshops, peace seminars completed the offer. Their success convinced even conservative churchmen--although many of them felt uncomfortable with it and it is the reason why men like Hempel, the Protestant bishop of Saxony, pointed to the limitations of the church and to its own "fears and faint-heartedness."

The introduction of military instruction in the schools produced a change in the attitude of the church leadership. At one time it had been hesitant, now it became more decisive. When churches were pressured by parents and they approached the state in vain to intervene against military instruction, they charged its members with the "instruction for peace."

Peace education became a central task of the Protestant Church. But two important demands could not be met in spite of a talk between the church leadership and SED General Secretary Honecker--which was first laced with hope. At the 1982 Dresden Peace Forum, Bishop Hempel admitted: "Are the two no's of the government--to an alternate to military service in the social arena and to soldiers in the reserves who do no longer want to bear arms--of such great significance that it becomes a matter of faith for us? May God forgive me if I am wrong, my answer is: no!"

Considering the extent of the involvement and all the courageous individual actions and attempts to help those in need quietly, the Protestant Church does not define itself as a church working side by side with or even against socialism, but it sees itself as a "church within socialism"--on the "narrow ridge

between opportunism and opposition," according to an earlier formulation by the former East Berlin bishop Albrecht Schoenherr. The church wants dialog with the state and not confrontation. Political resistance, Bishop Hempel told Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, would "only" be used "in an extreme case."

Thus, the church is limiting itself to actions which can be tolerated by the state, and it was rather surprised to hear that in the eyes of the state the emblem "swords to plowshares" was a provocation. At times, however, the state is actually relieved because the church, with its peace activities and the opening of church and congregational halls is keeping this movement under its own roof, a movement that otherwise could only express itself in the streets and on public squares.

The church opens its doors to all; but it does not permit everybody to do whatever he wants. Thus, limitations and fears by elders were the reasons why in Jena--but not only there--independent peace groups were formed outside the walls of the church. Initially, appearances by artists who were not recognized by the state were considered by the church as internal church matters, but the state looked upon them as unauthorized events and fines were imposed. Blues masses, local authorities demanded, should not turn into a "political cabaret"--and the church leadership gave into such demands.

Michael Rost: "When I was in pretrial detention, I was told during interrogations: 'You can do whatever you want, but you must do it together with the church. Then we will not object to it.' Subsequently we requested a talk with Bhiops Leich of the Protestant Church, and we told him that we had been released from prison and wanted to continue our peace work, but together with the church, otherwise we would have to return to prison. In other words, we were asking for the protection of the church. And then he said: 'Peace work is no longer possible.'"

This attitude is certainly not typical of all Protestant churches. The church in Thuringen is especially conservative and careful. Thus, it is no accident that an independent peace group existed in Jena, outside the church; on the other hand, it did not want to associate with troublemakers and activists either. Michael Rost: "There were people who asked us: When are you going to do something and really make a splash? I replied: If you want to do something, do it yourself. We are not going to have any violence or any of the things you people want."

The Jena peace group observed the laws to the letter in all of its activities. The authorities were totally frustrated because we registered demonstrations, as if it were quite normal to appear with posters. They were facing a problem that they had never encountered before: the fact that someone appears with confidence, something nobody had dared before."

The independent peace movement in Jena was relatively united and solidary; as a result it functioned very well for quite a while because it was able to fend off state security agents and provocateurs. In the meantime, however, almost all of its members have moved to the West.

In other cities there are at best very small groups and individuals who are operating outside the church (cf report by Marlies Menge: "Blessed Are the Meek" p 17). For instance, women write a letter against the extension of action duty to women in cases of emergency; Bruno Winzer, a former Bundeswehr officer who later became an officer with the National People's Army, demonstrated against the sale of war toys, on the day of the world peace rally a few East Berliners try in vain to form a chain from the U.S. Embassy to the Soviet Embassy, holding lit candles in their hands. In East Berlin there is a rather small group which considers itself a part of the "women for peace." There are small circles in other cities, but one hears about them only occasionally.

In spite of all its limitations, the peace work in the church is more significant, because the church has an organization and an apparatus. It can put together materials, lectures, documents, UN resolutions and mimeograph laws on military service and the service of construction soldiers (although it can "only be used within the church"). It can spread information which otherwise is not accessible to anybody. In this manner, young GDR citizens find out that Ernst Thaelmann, former KPD (Communist Party of Germany) chief and the idol of the State Youth League, was a pacifist and refused to serve in the military, or they may hear about the letter Ernst Honecker wrote some time ago to Klara Fassbinder, the former chairperson of the German Peace Union, in which he states that GDR citizens who perform alternative military service were completely equal and had the right to take advantage of all educational opportunities in the GDR--valuable information for arguments in a state which vilifies private opinions, calling them "petit-bourgeois ideas." And the church is able to make itself heard, for instance, in answer to Politburo member Werner Walde's claim that the demands for the introduction of a social peace service represents actions "against peace, against socialism and against the constitution."

While the state is continuing its dialog with the church--without, however, considering its ideas--its reactions to individual actions by the peace movement are either marked by uncertainty and helplessness or by repression. To be sure, occasionally the Free German Youth and the young church meet for talks in the East, but more often than not the discussion becomes a lecture, the dialog with state authorities turns into an interrogation. "Whoever wants to know more details, demonstrates that he had no confidence in the state." Letters and petitions to the government are either not answered at all or evasively. Persistent writers are eventually told: "We consider your matter closed." Surveillance, checking identification papers, spying and criminalization are among the constant risks members of the peace movement are facing.

As a consequence, a great deal of confidence was destroyed even among loyal or nonpolitical youths. Many could not understand at all why the emblem "swords to plowshares" was banned which combined a word from the Bible with a Soviet monument. When independent youths joined peace demonstrations by the Free German Youth, their posters were torn up and fighting was provoked.

As far as the state and its organizations are concerned, everything that does not originate from within the state is seen as opposition to the state, even



if it is not intended that way. "Sometimes their behavior seems to indicate that they are not sure whether socialism will exist much longer," Rolf Werner says. He is a stonemason from Jena who has been unemployed for a long time and who spent some time in prison for refusing to stay in the reserves.

"They did not understand us," Peter Roesch says, "because they have some kind of a friend-foe mentality. They are unable to comprehend the fact that someone may offer so-called 'positive criticism.' They do not understand that criticism does not always mean that one is opposed to the system. I was never able to figure out why it is so. The GDR would not look bad if its functionaries would demonstrate more willingness to talk, seek joint initiatives or, occasionally, admit some mistakes."

A young man from the rock scene has an explanation: "You cannot refute what they say. They can talk better and have an answer for everything. You listen to your music and you know that they are wrong. Because they lack feeling." How should they feel anything--in a cold world in which personal feelings--because they are uncontrollable--are to be eliminated and where simple conformity is apparently more convenient.

#### Christians, Independents Persecuted

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 23 Sep 83 pp 17, 19-20

[Article by Marlies Menge, East Berlin correspondent for DIE ZEIT; "Blessed Are the Meek"]

[Text] On the collar of his brown corduroy jacket he wore a pin which identified him as one of the Christian pacifists in the country: two hands breaking a rifle. He sat in a restaurant at the same table as I did. We started to talk. He, his wife and the two children were on vacation in the area. Apparently he had noticed my curious glance at the pin: "I was a construction soldier (the only option in the GDR to escape arms-bearing military service). At that time we were still used as bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters in the construction of barracks; today construction soldiers are primarily janitors or they work in the hospital." I estimated his age somewhere in the mid-40's. His wife is a physician, he is a scientist. The children are still small. "Well, my wife will never be a chief physician and I will never be a chancellor of a university," he said, "and my children will probably not be able to attend a university."

When he found out that I was a West German journalist he said: "Incidentally, I don't want to leave this country. Under no circumstances. In the West, where you are, everybody seems to think by now that peace work and applications for exit visas are synonymous in the GDR. In my opinion, the behavior of the church and of the state security forces in Jena is untypical, which may be the reason for the great number of applications for exit visas in that area."

He complained about the fact that Western journalists had exaggerated the number of Christians in the GDR working for peace and that they had made a "peace movement" out of them. "As if we were a mass movement. After all, there are only a few thousand of us in a nation of 17 million people. When 5,000 people congregated last year during the Dresden Peace Forum, it does not signify by any means that there are 5,000 active Christian peace workers in Dresden. They come from everywhere to attend these events. The same applies to this year's church conference in Dresden. It is said that as many as 100,000 people were there. You have no idea how many people went there out of curiosity, although ordinarily they do not have anything to do with the church. You must admit that you can still see the SED badge more often in the GDR than the badge I am wearing."

The men and women who met at the beginning of August in the Church of the Redeemer in East Berlin's Lichtenberg district to "fast for life" were wearing peace doves made of clay around their necks. They had been made by a female member of the group who is a painter. The people were sitting on the large lawn behind the church, some were in groups, others were alone. One group was discussing whether reports by Western media, were good or not for the Christian peace work. "We want publicity, and since our media do not report anything about our activities, we need the Western media," one of them said. Besides, the fact that a name is mentioned in a Western newspaper provides a certain protection, someone else stated. A third person complained, "but they always report only the things that are spectacular."

The Lichtenberg group--in the end there were 20 of them--fasted for 1 week out of solidarity with those who were fasting for an unlimited period in Bonn, Paris and Oakland. One of them admitted that he was ashamed because he was not fasting as radically as those in the West, who did not want to give up their hunger strike until there was a visible sign of a stop to armament. Someone from Jena, a young man with a full beard, spoke up. He defended Roland Jahn, who on one occasion had driven around on his bicycle carrying a banner with the inscription "Solidarity," the same Roland Jahn, who was later expelled by the GDR over his objections. "Well, he knew what he was getting into. But don't you have to do something crazy at one time or another to call attention to yourself? Don't heads have to roll to give Western journalists something to write about? Nobody cares anything about peaceful activities."

Next to me on the bench was an open book. It was Christa Wolf's "Nachdenken ueber Christa T." [Thoughts About Christa T.]. The young, pretty woman who sat across from me had Gandhi's autobiography in her hand. During the day she was working as a medical technician at a Catholic hospital and she joined the fasting group only in the afternoon. Most of them had taken time off from work. On 6 August they began their action with a memorial service for the victims of Hiroshima; after that they met every evening for talks on topics such as "peace and human dignity," or "life with wrong values." The action ended with a communion service (with bread and water), during which an open letter was read, addressed to Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council. It contained an appeal to withhold permission for the deployment of nuclear

weapons on GDR territory in case the negotiations in Geneva were to be delayed or, even worse, if they were to fail.

Among the people who were fasting in the Church of the Redeemer were Katja Havemann, the young widow of Robert Havemann, and Hans-Joachim Tschiche, director of the Protestant Academy in Magdeburg--in 1981, for instance, he had written an open letter to the SED functionary Werner Walde. It was a reply to Walde's accusation that social peace service was incompatible with peace socialism and unconstitutional. It became an issue after more than 4,000 young people had signed a paper, supporting something similar to what is available in our country, service in the civilian sector. Furthermore, Tschiche was one of the original signatories of the "Berlin Appeal," in which Robert Havemann and Rainer Eppelmann, pastor of the East Berlin Samaritan Church and regional youth pastor, demanded negotiations that were to lead to a nuclear free Europe.

#### People's Army in Kindergarten

Christoph-Johannes Moebius, a young apprentice, had come from Karl-Marx-Stadt where a group had fasted on 6 August. He had resigned because his company did not want to give him time off for the week of fasting in Berlin. He wore nickel-rimmed glasses, his head had been shorn bald and he was barefoot. For his plant he had made a newspaper and posted it on the wall. It contained a report on civil defense as printed in a GDR newspaper, with photographs of Western peace demonstrations and Hiroshima, photo-collages, for instance, with the heading of "Do not buy war toys," showing a child on a training tank and behind it a cemetery. The paper stayed up for 3 days, then it was taken down. He was waiting for an explanation at the door of the party leadership of the plant until he was pushed away. He had refused military service. Was he not aware of the fact that he could go to prison because of it? (In the GDR the refusal to military service is a criminal offense; at best one can become a construction soldier, but the decision must be made at registration time.) Yes, he was aware of it. Whether he wanted to go to the West? "No, I do not want to do that. Under no circumstances," he insisted, as if there was any doubt about it. "At least not right now. I do not know how things will be a year from now." And he thought about it. "There may be a lot of people who went through the same thing as I did." A theologian had told me that if the time should ever come, he hoped that he would be able to endure 3 years in prison before he would consider leaving the country.

Everybody who is taking part in the active religious peace work seems to be familiar with these fears. He knows about arrests, interrogations, visits by gray men from the State Security Service. In comparison, what happened to Ralf Kotowski, former video test engineer at the GDR television station, is harmless. In 1978 he wanted to send an appeal for disarmament and detente to the World Security Council. He presented it for discussion at the brigade meeting in his plant with the intent of collecting signatures at the conclusion: He was demoted to warehouse supervisor--at half of his current salary. The word "pacifist" has almost become an invective in the GDR. I remember when a worker-writer gave a reading in front of soldiers in Eisenhuettenstadt. When the soldiers started to talk about Christians



who are working for peace, the writing worker said: "Only a few are really involved. The rest of them are screwballs and rabble-rousers." And he could not help himself from making a derogatory remark about Stephan Hermlin, the initiator of the "Berlin Encounter," a meeting between writers from East and West in matters of peace.

"Of course, we do not have anything like Mutlangen, with Boell and Grass," a young theologian told me. "But the fact that we can refer to Dr Bruyn, Fuchmann, Hermlin, for instance, and quote what they said at the writers' meeting, the fact that writers of both sexes are coming to our readings certainly means that we are receiving support."

In a recent interview, Stefan Heym regretted the fact that many members of the peace movement are leaving the country and going to the West, "sometimes because they themselves want it, sometimes because the government wants it."

Many young people who applied for exit visas and lost their jobs because of it found refuge with the church. They work in cemeteries or as sextons. "Some of them find out in the process that the government likes to let those go who get involved in religious peace work, and they actually use peace work as a means of getting away faster," one pastor said. "They are the ones who forget the topic 'peace' as soon as they arrive in the West. These expatriates strengthen prejudices held among the population. Not long ago I stood behind two young women while shopping in a store. One of them was talking about the religious peace services she had heard about. "These people are trash," the other one grumbled, "they should be thrown out, all of them."

Even among those who are involved in religious peace work and who have intention to leave the country--they represent an overwhelming majority--one can sometimes feel bitterness toward those who leave the country. Throughout September and until 15 October one can view an exhibit in the Samaritan Church in East Berlin on the topic "violence without risk." It consists of paintings, illustrations and photographs and was put together by a long-haired young man who contributed some of his own posters on the topic of environmental pollution. When he asked a young East Berliner for a few photo compositions, he was asked immediately: "Did you apply for an exit visa?" Angrily he said no and received the reply: "Well, then you can have them. Incidentally, I do not use my work to support those who are taking advantage of the peace movement to find an easy way to the West."

Another person told me that he was disgusted because even among those who had stood in front of the U.S. Embassy holding candles during the world peace rally there had been a person who had applied for an exit visa. "He was disappointed because the police did not ask for his identification card when they cleared the area. He might have been one step closer to his departure." Someone else talked about the peace workshop in July in the Church of the Redeemer, a kind of peace summer festival, the second of its kind: "Heym had donated old editions of his books to be auctioned, and when the books by Lutz Rathenow (a writer who is unpopular with the state) were up for sale, the price did not rise until it became known who he was. Your Guenther Grass contributed a drawing. Someone outbid everybody and bought it for 500 East German marks and

had already a permit for his departure in his pocket. We could not match his offer. As far as he was concerned, it probably represented his starting capital in the West.

Something like that causes bad feeling. The church tries again and again to keep its distance from people like that. At the Dresden lay conference, Manfred Stalge--president of the consistory--affirmed that the church leadership would not permit congregational groups to be used as "emigration centers and meeting places for the opposition." "On the other hand, the church should not disparage people who have applied for exit visas," one theologian said reflectively. "Many of them have good reasons and, after all, they are a minority in the GDR, as are the homosexuals." The church as a refuge for minorities: homosexuals as well as lesbian women had their own booths for the workshop at the Church of the Redeemer.

Next to them were the women for peace, the product of an initiative by women from all over the GDR. They had sent petitions to their local authorities following the passage in 1982 of the military service law because they do not want to be drafted. The new military service law states that "during times of mobilization and in cases of defense, female GDR citizens will be included in a general conscription from the time they reach 18 until 31 December of the year when they turn 30." One hundred fifty women wrote to Erich Honecker and asked for an open talk, for which they have been waiting to this day. After mailing the letter, many of them were visited by gray men from the State Security Service. Yet they had done nothing except express their opinion, according to which women could contribute to the understanding among nations by bearing arms and declaring their willingness to kill instead of bringing up people who are able to document their desire for peace in ways other than with arms.

"If someone gave your child a war toy--what would be your reaction?" was one of the questions raised by the women for peace in the peace workshop. They are in tune with the "education for peace," based on the 1980 appeal by the Protestant Church. Even a book for small children, called "Our People's Army," published in 1976, shows soldiers with guns and others loading canons, tanks are discharging fire. There are paratroopers, warships on the seas, jet fighter planes. The following can be found in the "Education and Training Plan for Kindergarten": "By establishing closer contacts between children and individual members of the armed services, feelings of love and affection for the soldiers will be developed in children. They know that our soldiers are also workers. They protect people and their work and make sure that we can play happily." After the children enter school they have to attend a pioneer movement once a year--something like a cops and robbers game--except they are not using bows and arrows but homemade paper mines and missiles. The Young Pioneers are still saying: "We, the Young Pioneers, love peace," the Thaelmann Pioneers (age 10 and up) say: "We, the Thaelmann Pioneers love and protect peace and hate warmongers."

## Giving Up Career

Beginning with the 9th and 10th grades, children are receiving military science instruction since its introduction in 1972. Most of the apprentices who are signing a training contract are simultaneously indicating their willingness to participate in "premilitary training," students are not exempt either. An apprentice described a Society for Sport and Technology camp: "We have to crawl on the ground, learn to march, storm a wooden wall, throw practice hand grenades." Even girls--in addition to first aid and the 500-meter run--are permitted to throw the grenades and shoot with air guns and miniature rifles--long live equality!

The stronger socialism is, the more secure peace will be," is a frequent slogan written on a red banner. And how is socialism strengthened? Primarily through work: "We are living directly on the state border with the FRG, and we want to work diligently to prevent NATO warriors from ever starting a new world war." (Detlev Schulze, Pump-Works VEB, Oschersleben).

"Peace must be armed," is the absolution for Eastern arms. Young people who are changing this slogan--at the exhibit in the Samaritan Church, for instance--into "peace must be disarming" or who are wearing T-shirts with the imprint "Love your enemies"--as did the young girl at the Dresden lay conference--make the state uncomfortable. It tries again and again to win over members of the young church and make spies out of them. A pastor advised the young people to reply: "First I have to confess it to my pastor," and, maybe, they would be left alone. And again and again there are attempts to sneak members of the Free German Youth into peace seminars that are being held at many locations in the GDR, in the Mecklenburg village of Kessin, for instance. It was the place where the idea was born of concluding private peace treaties: between a GDR citizen and three West Europeans, for instance, or a West German and a man from the GDR pledge that they will never shoot at each other, or young people make agreements among themselves, everyone with everybody."

The longest tradition for peace seminars is the one held by those in Koenigswalde near Zwickau. Since 1972 they have taken place twice a year. At the beginning there were 40 participants, now there are 400. An acquaintance of mine told me that according to a rumor some of the initiators of the Koenigswalde peace seminars had been arrested at the World Peace Rally. In May 1982 the seminar was dedicated to environmental protection. "Are we living against life?" In a circular letter, dealing primarily with environmental problems, Dr Hans-Peter Gensichen, director of the Wittenberg Research Institute, wrote about the connection between peace and ecology: "Whoever opposes today the military and the ecological war, is fighting against very similar basic phenomena: against the belief that man can be something by way of possession. On one hand, it is the result of the need to secure the existence through power, on the other hand, it is the need for increasing existence through consumption."

When I spoke to friends in Saxony, I found that why a person who is involved in Christian peace work in the GDR finds alternative forms of life all by himself: "It is a reciprocal effect," the man told me. "Of course, those who are involved in this work are primarily looking for people who do no longer have a

desire to live according to a norm. On the other hand it is a matter of fact: since it is known that I am an active Christian, I do not have much of an opportunity to enter a successful career. In other words, I do not earn much money, I cannot afford a car, a large modern apartment. My wife remains a housewife, because she believes that she can save more money this way than would be possible if she had a poorly paid job. She cooks, bakes, cans--vegetables and fruit from a leased garden. She sews everything for us and the four children. She can even make shoes herself. She spins the wool of the sheep that are raised by friends of ours in the country. A few children have already left the house. None of them has a secondary-school diploma, all of them joined religious institutions, either as nurses or as catechists. They, in turn, will also earn less than they would if they worked in state enterprises, and they will also have to learn to get along with less." No, other than that they do not have any difficulties. Gradually people had gotten used to the fact that the children are not members of the Free German Youth and that they were confirmed instead of receiving the youth consecration, "in other words, that they are practicing Christians." The word "departure" does not come up when you talk with them. I would have a hard time imagining that these people whose hearts and souls belong to Saxony could be transplanted to Lower Saxony.

#### Christians Have More Difficulties

"Lay conferences, peace workshops, peace seminars--are the holidays. Ordinary days are more difficult," one of the daughters said. She was referring to the ordinary days in peace work. "The daily practice of the Beatitudes of the Sermon of the Mount: Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. The efforts to live according to the maxims which we established for ourselves: give up having your own say, see the image of God in every person; if someone slaps you on your right cheek, offer him also the other one." Some pastors help a little through their Sunday sermons. "Can the great peace be created if we fail to produce the little one?" the pastor of a small church in Saxony asks on any given Sunday. "When we say peace, how can we say that we are only thinking of our own and dispute someone else's? Is it not the beginning of a vicious circle: cursing someone else's?" He preached justice toward the other person, "who is guided by longings and desires like I am, who has shortcomings like I do, who has certain interests in mind like I do, who can make mistakes like I do, who is prejudiced, who has fears like I do and feels threatened." Finally, he had only one wish for himself: "I destroy my enemies by turning them into friends."

It came like a shock when the news reached us on the weekend that Lothar Rochau, Halle's youth deacon, had been sentenced to 3 years in prison for his religious activities in matters of peace and environmental protection. Many people feared that the close season was coming to an end, which had been the result of the anniversary celebration of Luther's work for the church. The GDR is only praising Christians in the West who are demonstrating for peace as long as their slogans fit into the official concept.

For Christians in our country things are getting worse and worse. Heinrich Rathke, bishop of Mecklenburg, was very apprehensive when he spoke at the



synod of the League of Protestant Churches about the domestic policy of the GDR: it is marked by distrust, suspicions and strict limitations, above all, against the youth. The leadership of the church league asked the government "to preserve or create the necessary space where people can exercise their responsibilities for peace according to their beliefs and according to their conscience." The church insists on peace work independent of the state.

This year the church is organizing its fourth 10-day peace congress. It will last from 6 to 16 November and the slogan will be: "Create peace out of the strength of the weak." Among the materials that have been prepared by the church are proposals for a minute of peace, a church service for peace, a youth or congregational meeting, a festival of peace. Symbolic actions are to express the desire for peace; clasp hands, for instance, as a greeting. A knotted string is to be the sign of a bond which exists among many people who do the same thing. During the 10-day period one knot is to be added each day and on 16 November, the day of repentance and prayer, it is to be joined with a ceramic pendant.

The MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG published excerpts from the introductory contribution by Saxony's Protestant bishop Johannes Kempel, chairman of the Conference of Protestant Church Administrations in the GDR. Self-confidently the church recognizes its own weakness: "...weak in the eyes of man, but strong in the eyes of God.... We should not make ourselves weak artificially, present ourselves as weak and act weaker than we are." But, while involved in the attempt of creating peace, people experience again and again that not much can be accomplished and that possibilities are limited. It applies particularly to young people. "The church does not have any political power," Kempel said. "At least, no longer in our time, and that is a good thing."

8991

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DUTIES, TRAINING OF ARTILLERY PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 19 Aug 83) pp 64-69

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "The Pride of the Artillery Personnel: You Are Something, You Can Do Something"]

[Text] Large panels are hanging and standing in the hallway of the first division of the "Rudolf Gypner" regiment: Intentions and results in socialist competition. The panels talk about military equipment of outstanding quality, firing with great accuracy, performance comparisons. And those who are the best in their function. This competition, which was started in 1982, set an example for the regiment. In order to gain an overview of the performance situation of the crews, the first platoon leader, scout, rangefinder, computer, radio and telephone operators, the division staff broke down the combat norms concretely according to half-years of service. Fulfilling the norms and error-free work--evaluated in performance comparisons and at tactical exercises--are the criteria for determining the best in each particular function. The officers estimate that this has eliminated differences in level, and good results have been achieved in combat firing. ARMEERUNDSCHAU presents a report about three FDJ members who are marching in the forefront in this competition. Soldiers who aspire to peak performances and also do more than is generally required.

The Scout

"Wonderful! It's going right after all!" The reconnaissance officer takes an approving look at the book in which soldier Ralf Keller is entering distances to the target and grid bearings. The captain can find only a few deviations from the actual readings. But this night reconnaissance in February is harder than it first appears. Firecrackers go off at irregular intervals on the training ground. Their flashes imitate the locations of assumed enemy weapons. The scouts have to take aim quickly at these bright spots with their optical rangefinders in order to determine the targets. It is not easy work for Ralf Keller, who is only in his fourth month. But he has been able to

recognize and mark accurately many of the 26 targets. The captain's praise on the occasion of this performance comparison makes the soldier happy. For him it is a spur to continue exerting himself.

Two months ago, things looked very different. The 8 weeks of special training and the time afterwards as well were very difficult for him. Until he acquired some mastery of seeing in spatial terms through the large piece of optical equipment--which magnifies the section of terrain 14 times--there was a lot of sighing out loud. There was a string of D's in his superior officers' evaluation books. Soldier Keller found only 65 percent of the required range-finding series--that is the name for the sequences of information gathering that are used as the norm.

But the 20-year old skilled construction worker with the high-school diploma did not let himself be depressed by this. Ambitious as he is, he became more intensively absorbed in the material. He wanted to reach the level of the others quickly. In fact, he even went one better. "You have to be better than the others," he resolved more than once. In his military service he is striving to achieve the best result, just as he does on the construction site. Good performance is not just required in the outside world, but in the army as well. Every FDJ member should learn standards like these. This moves us forward."

His experience of success comes during complex training with the battery. He is working with the gunners for the first time, but also under time pressure for the first time, because now the time norms are in force, the crews are waiting for his numbers. Comrade Keller understands his responsibility at the observation post of giving the artillery men far to the rear at the firing position exact target coordinates without delay. His results are not outstanding yet, but he has achieved more than before, and much of it was measured correctly. He can keep up with the others and this satisfies him.

He still lacks practical skills. Ralf Keller knows this, and in the lulls in combat, when others are resting, he practices on the equipment with NCO Krampe, his squad leader. At the barracks, he drags it up to his room to continue learning on it. He practices rangefinding by using factory smokestacks and highrise buildings. He devotes himself particularly to distances over 2000 meters, where many of the lines and signs in the eyepiece become more blurry, where it is more difficult to bring the measuring marks and the target into alignment spatially and turning the small screws is almost filigree work. With time his eyes become more practiced, his data more precise.

Battery practice puts him to a hard test. It is not enough that a combat mission is in progress, compared with which the complex exercise was almost child's play, no, now he has to contend with miserable weather, after experiencing only sunshine during his training until now. The armored personnel carrier in which he normally works has remained at home this time. Not only does he have to slog across country with the equipment, which weighs more than 27 kgs, now he is standing in a hole in the ground with wet feet. Banks of mist, low, dark rainclouds hang over the battlefield, making the objects appear ghostlike in his eyepiece. Grimly he keeps turning the focus adjust-



ment, with difficulty he pinpoints one target after another. Occasionally he shakes himself because of the cold, and anger rises up in him. "Throw it all away and run," another voice whispers to him, whenever he thinks he is not making any headway. But then his sense of honor returns: "Pull yourself together! Others have survived." And he takes hold of himself. The 10 targets that he scouts are destroyed by the battery. Soldier Keller is glad that he stood firm and completed his assignments.

He has progressed. He notices this in the competitions with his peers. The scouts have to carry out 30 series of measurements per month, each of 10 measurements. In comparison with the experienced men, who are in their second and third half-years, Ralf Keller is now their equal, a partner who can hold his own, in fact, more: He surpasses one comrade from this group, works his way up to second place in the company. Soldier Keller is rising above his name [Cellar], for now he is on the "roof."

"We made the right man our scout," says the reconnaissance officer when he checks Keller's rows of figures again. The captain points to his notes: "83 percent of the measurement series completed. Grade B. The highest rate of increase in the rangefinding series."

Soldier Keller has achieved one objective: He has joined the best. He knows that he still has theoretical weaknesses, for example, thorough knowledge of the enemy. But he will come to grips with that too. "You just have to buckle down. Try for performance everywhere."

#### The Computer

"Are you planning to practice for as long as it takes to get it right?" The rude question from his superior officer makes Walter Schuster jump. He can detect the restrained mockery, the suppressed anger in the tone of voice. You've read something incorrectly again! Annoyed, he looks at the fire-control equipment on the ground in front of him, this range card with coordinate tracks and a sliding scale. Desperately he flips through the tables in the firing table, reaches for the slide rule with a shaking hand. "It's enough to drive you crazy today!" he thinks. "Almost every reading that you take is corrected later by the automatic computer. Are you doing everything wrong? Are you stupid? They can find themselves a new computer!" he curses to himself. He forces himself to be calm again, checks his figures again, adjusts his equipment. "It would be funny if I didn't learn how to work this thing!" he thinks grimly. It's all for nothing, he's not making any progress. He is given a new piece of fire-control equipment. Finally it's working! Walter Schuster breathes a sigh of relief. Boy, how embarrassing if things had gone screwy here! Here, where it's being decided whether we will be allowed to participate in the battery exercise or not. It may have been faulty equipment--but soldier Schuster knows that he made mistakes as well. And he is determined to become more confident, to practice more. If you want to pass in the competition, he tells himself, you have to improve your knowledge, you cannot let yourself be surprised by chance happenings like that. The next exercise must be 100-percent right.

For hours on end after the day is done, the 19-year old mechanic can be found in the briefing room or in the battery club room. He is practicing entering coordinates, recalculating one more time the old entries in his workbook. He wants to become quicker and more accurate. Even a blunt pencil can result in a deviation of one or two mils in his drawing.

In his second half-year of service he becomes noticeably more self-assured. He no longer has any difficulty with performance comparisons, in which initial data for firing are gathered as many as 20 times in succession. He can feel the progress in comparison with the past months, when he had acquired some knowledge but was unable to convert it. He was lagging behind the other computers, he was too slow. He failed to fulfil many norms.

Battery practice in February give him the opportunity to demonstrate how far his ability has grown. Under more difficult conditions. Frozen through, he clambers out of his combat vehicle, a little UAZ, in the dark. He runs around the vehicle a few times, rubbing his fingers constantly. Then he switches on the overhead light, runs the tiny shaft of light over the range card, enters numbers and signs. He shivers now and again. "A warm stove--that would be nice right now!" On this winter morning he has 10 firing assignments to complete. Although several officers are constantly observing him, he does not allow his composure to be disturbed. Later he said: "I had no time to let myself get nervous." An automatic computer double checks his readings. His own position, ranges, angles, the corrections from the weather forecasts--not a single correction is required! The battery is scoring hits with great accuracy, coming in under all the time norms. Walter Schuster returns home proudly. "You are something, you can do something!"

He does not sit back and relax. Studying by himself, he immerses himself in the books. In the fire-control exercises, the performance comparisons for the computers, he impresses by his growing skills. He orients himself by the older men, the better ones, he emulates them, learns a lot of small tricks, such as from private Wichmann, a computer in his third half-year. He sees how Wichmann draws pencil lines on his wide sight scale. "That reduces the time for entering corrections." From then on Walter Schuster also uses these methods. He goes one step further. He takes personal care of his equipment. He frequently checks the small screws and metal tracks, cleans the surfaces more than usual. "Every grain of sand obstructs the time, it can lead to inaccurate data. So you have to keep looking at the thing, so that there are no problems when you're in action later." That is his view.

"High-precision calculators," he set this commitment for himself in the FDJ and he would like to keep his promise. As best he can. "The regiment can only complete its assignments if every individual makes an effort. Negligence--a soldier only hurts himself."

Soldier Schuster climbs to second position in the division. Only private Wichmann is just ahead of him. Like him he acquires his classification pin III. But soldier Schuster does not attain the rank of private which he is due to reach. He robbed himself of it. For the time being. A pass violation must be punished! He intends to erase this mistake in his last half-year of service

--with even better performance. He has his sights set on the classification pin II. "I have become better," comrade Schuster says. "Still--it's no bed of roses. I still have to perfect my skills in order to meet all the requirements all of the time. The competition is a great way to advance in this regard."

#### The Gunner

"What a lot of little wheels and butterfly screws! What are they all for?" Soldier Peter Schulz looks in astonishment at the panoramic telescope. You are supposed to be trained on this sight? The gun commander listens calmly to the skeptical questions. He knows that a great deal is unclear to newcomers, sometimes they are in awe of the unknown. But a few days later, when this inexperienced young pup says: "What is one mil? Does it matter whether I put in one more or less . . .," he lectures his aspiring gunner, this K 1, what it means among artillery personnel to do clean work, to set the readings exactly. He does not stop at words. At the end of the day they continue to practice on the tank telescopic sight and the panoramic telescope, they work through the rows of scales, practice settings. The young soldier is to master his craft in the shortest time possible.

Slowly Peter Schulz starts to enjoy it. He is quick to grasp, sees that he is making progress. You have to make an effort, then you can do it," he says. He likes the competition between the K 1's. "That is a spur. You can test your skills." The 24-year old mason understands other relationships as well. "I have to know my assignments like the alphabet. There are no excuses in the real thing. It has to go smoothly. World events show us every day what a serious matter peace is."

His first combat firing comes at the end of the first half-year. His heart is pounding with excitement. A myriad of thoughts rushes through his head: Will there be a big bang when the gun fires? Will you hear all the orders? Countless times he looks at the scales to see whether he has set everything correctly. He is glad that all four firings go off smoothly. But in his excitement he is responsible for a "blemish." Working under his protective clothing, he fires the third shot seconds earlier than the battery. From somewhere he heard the cry "Fire!" But it was not his gun commanders' order. This prematurely fired shell hits its target like all the others, but because of this infringement of firing discipline the battery is dropped one grade: it receives a B. But the gunners do not find out the result until days later. Why, they ask along with Peter Schulz, doesn't anyone at the firing position tell us whether and how we are registering hits? Why isn't the firing evaluated right away on the spot? The soldiers are right. Their performances must be judged immediately; but by acting like this the officers missed an opportunity to have a stimulating effect on further events. Still, the completed exercise, everything he learned there encourages Schulz. "Now you have achieved something," he rejoices.

He understands that he is not perfect yet. So he attends the FDJ circle for gunners, which staff sergeant Wroblewski, a gun commander, founded on his own initiative. Adding and subtracting four-figure numbers. Easy on paper. That is how it is learned in school. But a K 1 has to be able to do it in his head,

and immediately set the results in the sight. And he has to convert when the corrections come. This is actually the job of the gun commander, but a K 1 has to be in the position of being able to replace him. Wroblewski practices with the gunners, shows them little tricks that make the work easier. A command to fire has to be ready in 30 seconds. Fifty commands have to be worked through in the performance comparisons.

Soldier Schulz trains assiduously, fulfils his norms better and better. So well in fact, that he is occasionally used as an auxiliary trainer. Twenty seconds --that's all he needs for the settings. However, that does not make him the fastest one in the battery. There is private Oswald on gun #3. Almost always 2 or 3 seconds quicker. The biggest competitor for Peter Schulz. They are rivals to be sure, but this does not prevent them from watching each other, learning from one another. Thus it happens that soldier Schulz learns how to manipulate the handwheels for elevation and azimuth simultaneously, knocking off seconds, in the same way that Oswald manages it.

For 2 months in the last half-year of training the competition between these two is suspended. This is the time Schulz spends in a cast. Jumping down from his Ural, his foot catches on a box. After a somersault the body hits the concrete. His right leg is put in a cast. Goodbye, second battery practice, the next probationary test in combat firing is over.

When he returns to the battery after 8 weeks, he goes directly to the gun commander. "Anything new?" he asks. He is itching to catch up what he missed. And he has a lot of ground to make up. He is the slowest K 1 on the guns, in sports he cannot last out. Peter Schulz takes his manual, the regulations, sits down in a quiet corner and studies hard. It only takes a few weeks and he has caught up, he is the old Peter Schulz again and is once more having K 1 battles with private Oswald and the others. In his words: "You have to hold on, you must not ease up."

His efforts are rewarded with his promotion to private in May.

9581

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CZYREK ADDRESSES GDANSK PARTY ORGANIZATION

PM161405 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 11

[Abridged account of speech by PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek delivered at the 4 November Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Allow me, comrades, to limit my speech to just a few topics: first, a statement of the basic goals of the 13th Central Committee Plenum; second, a discussion of some aspects of the current sociopolitical situation and the tasks which arise from it; third, a presentation of the dangers inherent in the current international situation.

I would also like to present a few of my own reflections on the work of your voivodship organization, reflections made from the viewpoint of the subject of today's voivodship committee plenum.

The fundamental aim of the 13th plenum was to strengthen the party's ideological and political unity. This is an essential precondition to enable the party to increase the effectiveness of its work. The ninth congress defended the Marxist-Leninist character of our party. Nevertheless, even after the congress was over we continued to come across tendencies and phenomena, either revisionist or dogmatically sectarian in nature, undermining the party's ideological and political unity. Although the party took a definite stand concerning those tendencies during its seventh plenum, this does not mean that those negative phenomena have all been completely overcome in the consciousness of all PZPR members and, on a broader scale, in the sphere of general social awareness. When we consider their scale they are not predominant, but they still constitute an unfavorable influence on shaping the stance of some party members, thus hindering the process of achieving the second of the goals formulated at the 13th Central Committee Plenum, that is, /increasing the ideological offensive in the PZPR's activity./

Neither revisionism nor dogmatism is often found in its pure form today. The former is usually disguised under the banner of uncompromising defense of socialist renewal; the latter, under that of adherence to fundamental socialist principles. In both the former and the latter it is not uncommon to come across specific forms of opportunism. But there is but one single criterion: Everything that threatens party unity or weakens its joint and uniform action is harmful.

At the same time I would like to sound a warning against the tendency to attach labels too hastily. We have had painful experience with that. What we need above all is party unity and cohesion within party ranks.

The second goal formulated at the 13th Central Committee Plenum was that of /increasing the party's ideological offensive in its struggle for social awareness and against alien doctrines./ We have done a lot here already, but we have not yet been able to fully surmount the negative results of the activity carried out by our internal political adversary, as well as by Western centers of ideological and propaganda subversion. It is now absolutely essential for the party to move onto the offensive, to discard its defensive stance. It sometimes happens that party members fall silent when it comes to a confrontation over people's political views: They are unable to make an effective defense of our ideological values or political positions. Without an active fighting approach, without an active stance we will be unable to secure any proper standing for Marxist-Leninist ideology or to effectively carry out the tasks connected with the leading role played by the party in the life of Polish society.

It must not be a temporary goal either, connected exclusively with the realization of the 13th plenum resolution: It must constitute a constant practice in party activity.

Another task is /to ensure a greater cohesion between ideological, political, and economic activities in the daily practice of our social existence./ We used to discuss this unity in theoretical terms. But the greatest value in socialist ideology is given to the working man, to the man who gives shape to his existence through the process of work. It is thus the aim of socialism to create a system of social justice in which the working man can freely develop his spiritual qualities and fully satisfy his material needs. The profoundly humanist character of our ideology stems from this approach. Therefore all programs of party activity, together with our members' stances, must be assessed in terms of the degree to which they are consistent with the socialist ideology and with the principle of broadly understood social justice.

The above can also be applied to moves seemingly remote from all ideology such as the recent restoration of fats rationing. Had the problem been presented from a different angle than that of quantitative technicalities (such as quoting the extent of our stocks of milk, butter, and so on), social reactions to it would in all probability have been quite different. This experience ought to prevent us from repeating similar moves in other difficult economic operations.

The next point on the agenda of the 13th Central Committee Plenum was /an appraisal of certain topical phenomena and certain topical problems of our day, such as, among others, Poland's current stage of development./ It was unequivocally ascertained at the plenum that we are still at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism, with all the consequences which follow from that. Consequently, contradictions occur--both nonantagonistic and antagonistic, class contradictions--and these require that appropriate political, legal, and administrative safeguarding provisions be made and that

a new approach be found to the question of the nation's ideological and political unity. An example of such an approach is seen in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The main concern is to work out joint standpoints on questions which are fundamental for the nation and the state.

After the 13th plenum acting with the aim of provoking a confrontation between the church and the socialist state, both the internal and the external adversaries raised a great outcry over the party's supposed attack on the church. This does not correspond with the truth. Church-state relations have not changed. We assess them in a positive light, as we also do the standpoint taken by a definite majority of the clergy.

At the 13th plenum the party yet again confirmed its consistently maintained standpoint concerning relations between the state and the church. We do not divide our citizens into the state and the church. We do not divide our citizens into believers and nonbelievers. Respect for differences in world outlook cannot, however, mean that the party can abandon its duty to disseminate the scientific foundations of Marxism-Leninism, nor that it can remain passive in the face of manifestations of intolerance, the clericalization of society's life, or demonstrations of hostility--disguised under the cloak of religious feeling--toward the socialist state. The party declares itself in favor of cooperation between the church and the state in the work directed at overcoming the crisis and helping the country's development, in strengthening its security and struggling for peace, and in the cause of the nation's moral renewal.

The debates at the 13th Central Committee Plenum included also the question of the need to observe the principles of social justice, the equality of all citizens before the law, and citizens' opportunities to acquire an education and find work compatible with their qualifications. /The egalitarian principle must not, however, be treated mechanistically, the way it is still treated in certain enterprises where there is still no clear connection between pay levels and the quantity and quality of the work done or services rendered. No criterion for the division of profits is more just or socially better justified than the criterion of the work actually carried out./

That deals with the matters discussed at the 13th Central Committee Plenum. Now I would like to dwell on some /aspects of the current sociopolitical situation./ Although, in contrast to the situation prior to 13 December 1981, we do not have to deal with any organized actions by the adversary, the danger nonetheless persists that the latter will take advantage of spontaneous social reactions that might occur if the authorities in power commit certain specific political mistakes. Still, we must not underestimate this danger, particularly given the continuing instability of the population's moods and reactions. Hence, the enormous importance attached to the realization of the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum and to the outcome of the coming 14th Central Committee Plenum, which is to be devoted to economic problems.

For it is on economic and social welfare matters that society's attention is mostly focused today. They also form a basis for the calculations of the political adversary, who counts on the socialist authorities' failure to cope with the economic difficulties and on being able to make use of any social discontent to further his own aims in the political struggle. Hence, also the whole system of sanctions and political pressure applied by the Western countries with the aim of making our economic difficulties even more acute and bringing about a collapse of the Polish economy.

How convenient it would be now for the United States to be able to direct the world's attention to Poland, thus diverting it from what is going on in Grenada, for instance. That is why all the work currently being done on improving the implementation of the reform mechanisms in our economy should be aimed at securing correct correlations between pay, productivity, and investment. Without these there is no possibility of effectively stemming inflation.

After the report and election campaign is finished, we will be faced with the national delegates' conference. This will be an important even in the life of our party: a forum where we will /ask the state of implementation of the resolutions passed at the ninth congress. The aim of the conference will be to prepare a program of party until the 10th PZPR Congress./ The ideological and program declaration /"What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Going"/ is to play the role of such a document. Work is still continuing on the final version of the draft declaration. The main concern is to make the document persuasive and socially reverberant in the highest degree. We are also accelerating work on the preparation of a long-term program of party work.

In May elections to people's council will take place. /These will constitute a political campaign whose results may prove to be the decisive step in the process of overcoming the political crisis marked by the breakdown of confidence in the authorities in power./ People's councils should be a true instrument of people's power. And so it is necessary today to take care to ensure that our best party members are nominated as candidates for those organs of authority.

We are called upon to realize all these tasks in a difficult international situation in which Poland finds itself the object of an unprecedented campaign instigated by the U.S. Administration.

/The threat to peace posed by imperialism makes it incumbent upon us to intensify the struggle to rescue the world from the danger of nuclear warfare./ We must intensify where the force that constitutes the foundation of peace for Europe and the whole world might become undermined in its balance. [as published]

That essential guarantee of the preservation of world peace does not, however, exclude the danger of regional conflicts arising and of capitalist powers destroying national liberation movements and progressive social forces



in different parts of the world. In view of the irresponsible policy of the United States the danger also exists of an overall world confrontation. This is why we in the party attach such enormous importance to all social movements for world peace. It is worth noting how enormously widespread those movements are in the West, proving that the militarist and expansionist aspirations harbored by Western governments stand in contrast to their citizens' wishes.

We must remember that Poland will for a long time yet continue to be an object of constant ideological and propaganda subversion. An improved socio-political and economic situation in the country, together with a shift in our economic orientation in favor of cooperation with CEMA countries--cooperation unaffected by various political exigencies--will automatically limit the opportunities for destructive action on the part of antisocialist Western forces. In addition, some enlightened Western politicians are beginning to realize that if the restrictions directed against Poland continue to be kept in force--thus hindering our country's economic development--this will hold back the chances of our speedy repayment of the credits that their countries had granted to us. And any decline in our economic cooperation with the capitalist countries closes the Polish market to those countries, which in effect will lead to their incurring definite economic losses too.

In conclusion, here are some comments on /the work the Gdansk party organization./ I rate highly the report of your voivodship committee executive, which refers to the specific circumstances in which your work here is carried out. I believe that /your voivodship organization can boast particular achievements in realizing the lines and tasks discussed at the 13th Central Committee Plenum./ In your area a number of ideological and political dangers occurred in a particularly acute form. The fact that, on the whole, your organization managed to overcome those dangers deserves special recognition from the whole party. At the same time--as was evident both from the report and from standpoints expressed in the debate--/you are conscious of the magnitude of the tasks which are still facing you in the work to strengthen the party ideologically and politically and to stimulate it in its future activity./

I wish you much success in realizing these ambitious projects.

Yours truly,

## SEJM DEPUTY DISCUSSES TRADE UNIONS, SELF-MANAGEMENT BODIES

(001001) Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Nov 83

(Text) Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Workers Self-Management, held a meeting with journalists today. The conference was attended by Piotr Stefanski, deputy Sejm speaker.

Jozef Barecki stressed that, after temporary restrictions, since 31 March of this year no permission has had to be obtained to set up self-management bodies. This is decided by the work force. Approximately 6,500 enterprises in the country meet the conditions necessary for setting up workers self-management bodies which are defined by the law passed 2 years ago. Self-management bodies can also be organized at scientific and research institutes and budget enterprises working for the economy. It is known that 85 percent of enterprises subordinated to ministries and central offices now have their self-management bodies. There are about 3,100 of them. According to an opinion poll conducted by the Sejm Commission, almost 60 percent of the members of workers councils are workers.

In the course of the conference journalists asked about the principles of the cooperation between trade unions and self-management bodies at enterprises. It was explained to us that apart from the director, a self-management body is an organ of the enterprise and trade unions have the right and duty to take a stand on issues relating to work, pay, welfare and living conditions. A self-management body, on the other hand, when making decisions on these issues, has the duty to consult trade union members.

Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Workers Self-Management, announced that the issue of cooperation between trade unions and self-management bodies at enterprises will be discussed in the near future at a joint session of the commission which he heads and the social commission for trade union affairs active at the Council of State.

END; 2600/268

## TRADE UNION CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES ORGANIZATION

ID101957 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Nov 83

[Text] A session of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs is in progress. Taking part in the session, which is being chaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, are the chairman of forty national trade union organizations. The aim of the meeting is to exchange information and views on matters of fundamental importance for working people and for the trade unions representing their interests.

The meeting began with consultation with the trade unions on the assumptions of the central annual plan for next year. These assumptions were commented on by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski in the light of the difficult internal and external factors conditioning the country's economic situation, and the implementation of this year's plan.

He recognized as particularly important issues the better adaption of the production structure to the possibilities of the economy and to social needs, and the consistent implementation of the policy of difficult [word indistinct] [trudny pieniadze]. The gradual restoration of money-market equilibrium is of enormous significance. This matter was given detailed treatment in reports by government representatives on the results of consultations on the assumptions of the reform of the water system; the government's intentions regarding price policy, particularly concerning foodstuffs; the prospects for food supplies to the market; and the problems of rationed sales. The open, frank, and critical discussion confirmed that trade unionists are the spokesmen not only of the financial and social interests of their professional areas, but also of the general public interest. This resulted in the sense of coresponsibility for the state of the economy and public life, and the numerous proposals at the meeting, indicating the needs and possibilities of combatting bad management and squandering the results of workers' labor.

There were references to the awkwardly implemented restoration of butter rationing, a decision which is still incomprehensible to many people. There was also discussion of the problems of the trade union movement--the difficulties in cooperating with the economic administration, a great part of which still has to learn partnership in relations with the trade unions and respect for their statutory powers.

CSO: 2600/267

OFFICIAL VIEWS NEW TRADE UNIONS' PROGRESS

PM081550 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 14 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Chairman of the Social Consultative Commission Prof Zbigniew Salwa by GLOS SZCZECINSKI correspondent Krzysztof Matlak--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Matlak] A year has passed since the Sejm approved the Trade Union's Act. The trade union movement is making progress. What sort of future lies ahead for it?

[Salwa] Trade unions will continue to develop, for such are life's dictates. Our everyday existence is not composed of felicitous solutions alone, but is also composed of many minor and major conflicts and clashes of interest. Many of those cannot be solved without a contribution from workers' representation. Thus life itself "forces" trade unions to be set up. Strong trade unions guarantee fuller and more comprehensive ways of searching for good methods of eliminating the conflicts. If those organizations are strong, they will become a partner whose voice is heeded and, most importantly, whose arguments are to be reckoned with. It is no use beating about the bush: They will be a troublesome partner for the state and economic administration. After all, it is much easier to make all the decisions on one's own than to be obliged to discuss them with others. But such convenience is of little value. If our sociopolitical system is to function properly, trade unions must be a partner. A troublesome partner. But this will provide a guarantee against our repeating the same old mistakes over again.

I believe that nationwide trade union organizations will be set up before the end of this year or at the beginning of 1984. As they gain more experience, union activists will acquire a broader view of matters concerning the employees of the branches of industry they represent. I also think that trade unions will come to have a better understanding of the tasks connected with the defense of employees' interests if they regard their tasks in the light of their long-term interests. It will be necessary to assess the correct functioning of their enterprises from the same viewpoint. Trade unionists are also certain to take up areas which at the present moment are often peripheral to their field of interest. I mean workers' culture, tourism and sport.



[Matlak] The newly formed trade unions very quickly perceived the need to set up structures operating above and beyond individual enterprises. Is it possible to work out a formula indicating what is of most advantage to trade unionists?

[Salwa] It is impossible to work out any formulas without taking trade unions' experience into consideration. Some might find a uniform type of trade union to be the best, especially where there are very many small enterprises in the given branch of industry. On the other hand, branches with large enterprises may find that a federation of trade unions will be more advantageous. I think that the organizers of small federations will in time think about creating larger, nationwide organs. I believe--on the strength of my knowledge of the trade union movement in the world--that it is advantageous for trade unionists to join their forces to combine in larger organisms.

[Matlak] But for the moment we are witnessing a certain trend toward creating federations. Nationwide federations are being set up, and each of these will comprise a number of individual unions several thousand members strong. How can this phenomenon be explained?

[Salwa] There are several reasons for it. First of all we must mention the unfortunate past experience. In the past central trade union authorities concentrated too much power in their own hands. Organizations at enterprise level were largely restricted in their freedom to act on their own independent initiative. In addition, their viewpoint was not taken into consideration to an adequate extent. Now trade unions in enterprises have been granted legal identity. This gives them a sense of independence. Trade unionists sometimes overlook the fact that the relationship between a trade union organization at enterprise level and a federation is determined predominately in the statute. I also think that small federations want to secure for themselves a guarantee of full representation of their interests as a professional group within the framework of the whole branch of their industry and its employees. Besides, federations are a novel form. There are no negative associations connected with them. In any case, trade unionists who are trying to set up structures operating above the enterprise level must see to it that any decisions are preceded by wide-ranging debate. Especially in the case of small federations, it is well worth considering all the arguments for and against.

[Matlak] Contrary to popular opinion, which maintains that the new unions are merely an extended arm of the management, conflicts often occur. How do you assess the state of relations between enterprise management and trade unions?

[Salwa] They vary. In most enterprises those relations are correct. I refer mainly to those enterprises in which trade unionists constitute a large proportion of the work force. Correct relations do not mean that on many questions the manager's viewpoint differs from that of the trade unionist's.

Unfortunately, we are informed that in some enterprises those relations are not as harmonious as they could be. The management does not respect union rights, nor does it, for instance, consult the union on matters over which the statute instructs it to. This is caused by many factors: insufficient appreciation of the importance of the unions, reluctance to have decisions put under union con-

trol, and often also ignorance of the rights to which the union control, and often also ignorance of the rights to which the union is entitled. In view of the fact that such reports are fairly frequent and have been arriving from several different voivodships, we are organizing instruction courses, of several days' duration, for several thousand enterprise directors. In this way we will get them acquainted with the extent of trade union's competence.

[Matlak] Let us hope that this system will improve the situation in a number of enterprises, if not in all of them. As far as I show activists from the new trade unions are also being trained on instruction courses.

[Salwa] This is essential. The newly elected union boards usually include activists who are quite inexperienced. They also lack the necessary knowledge of the unions' range of competence, as well as the forms and methods of union activity. The courses are organized by the Social Consultative Commission, and in several voivodships also by voivodship information and consultancy groups. We have been running short courses at Jachranka near Warsaw and at Katowice since last February. At the beginning of October we will be opening a new center at Chylce near Warsaw, and another one in Gdansk. Instruction programs are modified and adjusted according to the requirements. At present the program includes both problems of the methodology of union work and its financial management and the rights guaranteed by the Trade Unions Act, the Labor Code and other legislative acts. Our instruction courses also provide an opportunity for an exchange of opinions and experience.

[Matlak] What criticism is leveled against the Social Consultative Commission which you head?

[Salwa] First and foremost we are criticized for producing too little instruction material. Unfortunately this is not entirely within our competence. We have some difficulty with finding competent authors. But the main problem rests with the long publishing cycle in printing offices.

[Matlak] Are you a trade unionist yourself?

[Salwa] Of course. I am a member of the Polish Teachers' Union at the University of Warsaw.

[Matlak] Thank you for the conversation.

CSO: 2600/269

## RAKOWSKI ATTENDS TRADE UNION MEETING IN WROCLAW

LD031824 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 3 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Nov [date as received]--Poland's Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski met in Wroclaw today with trade union activists from Wroclaw Voivodship. The meeting focused on the development of trade union activity, an assessment of the socio-political situation in Poland and prospects for overcoming the economic crisis.

At present, reborn trade unions in Wroclaw Voivodship operate in 767 industrial plants and institutions out of the 800 work establishments authorized to have them. The development of the trade union movement is clearly evidenced by statistics: towards the end of 1982 new trade unions affiliated no more than 5,000 members in Wroclaw Voivodship, whereas today they affiliate as many as over 70,000 people.

Taking a stand on the issues touched upon in the discussion, Vice-Premier Rakowski said many people still stand aloof, wait and do not want to join new trade unions. "There is no need to be offended with those who stand aloof. One should fight for them and expect that they will rejoin the trade union movement sooner or later," he said.

"In socialist Poland we must have strong, mass trade unions. It is necessary, however, to create a sense of co-responsibility and co-management in them," Mieczyslaw Rakowski underscored.

"New, rebuilt trade unions must grow in strength. Much depends on the initiative and activity of trade unionists. The process of winning followers for the new trade union movement is going to be neither easy nor short and there is need to concentrate on those facts which will make programmes outlined by the party and state leaders credible," the vice-premier pointed out.

"People will have a decisive influence on the accomplishment of the goals we are aiming at. People with a strong and clearly marked personality, who will win other people by way of their public attitude, honest work and responsibility. New trade unions need as many such genuine activists with a strong personality as possible," Vice-Premier Rakowski remarked.

NEW COMMISSION FOR WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT VIEWED

PM091122 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Bancer, director of the Chancellery of the Council of State Law Office, by KRAJOWA AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Lucjan Pracki--date, place not given]

[Text] Pracki: Recently the Council of State passed a resolution on the establishment of a commission for workers self-management matters, to be attached to the Council of State, and on the principles and procedure in matters within its competence. What is the aim of this?

Bancer: The commission traces its origin to the act, passed 21 July this year, on special legal regulations for the period of overcoming the socio-economic crisis and on the changes to be introduced in certain laws. The act provides for the possibility of suspending, or even dissolving, a self-management organ if it infringes the law or the regulations of the commission in question. The commission's tasks include considering and settling appeals against decisions of the founding organs to suspend any work force's self-management organ, as well as applications submitted by the former to dissolve work forces' self-management organs.

Pracki: It can, then, be said that the commission will stand on guard to uphold self-management law.

Bancer: Yes, since the commission is set up to protect the rights of self-management on the one hand and, on the other, to ensure that the right granted to workers' self-management organs are not used in a way incompatible with the interests of the socialist society and state.

Pracki: How is the commission's procedure set in motion?

Bancer: Either following an appeal brought in by a self-management organ or following a proposal submitted by a founding organ. If, however, there are justified grounds for believing that there is a possibility of having the matter settled without the commission's intervention, its presidium will suggest the appropriate corrective steps to be taken directly by the sides involved. It is only when these steps fail to result in a positive conclusion that the presidium will direct the matter to be investigated by the commission.



Thus, priority is given to a search for constructive solutions conducted directly by the sides involved in the dispute.

Pracki: In matters as delicate as those, accurate judgment by the commission is of paramount importance.

Bancer: This is why those possible disputes will be investigated at such a high level. And to make sure that the commission passes accurate judgments it can demand that the contending sides present additional clarification and additional documents; it can also ask for an opinion from political organizations, trade unions and other social organizations as well from the director of the enterprise in question and from specialists in the relevant field. It can also investigate the issue directly on the premises in the enterprise.

Pracki: What kinds of settlement are possible?

Bancer: If the decision to suspend a work force's self-management organ is waived, or an application to dissolve a self-management body rejected, then--depending on the circumstances--proceedings can be dropped provided both sides inform the commission that an agreement has been reached, or one of the sides withdraws its appeal or application. In addition, the Council of State resolution empowers the commission to suspend proceedings and to decide whether it is possible to accept an appeal brought in by a self-management organ if the latter proceeds to withdraw, within an agreed time limit, those of its resolutions which are incompatible with the law or with society's interest.

Pracki: What if the sides do not wish to avail themselves of these opportunities?

Bancer: The commission can then decide to uphold the decision to suspend the activity of an organ of workers' self-management remains in force, the commission can state the terms of its resumption before the period of suspension runs out.

Pracki: What happens if an organ of the work force's self-management is dissolved?

Bancer: While issuing a decision to dissolve a work force's self-management organ the commission can recommend that the preparatory work preceding its re-instatement be carried out in consultation with the political and social organizations active within the enterprise. The commission also makes it incumbent upon the founding organ to acquaint the work force with the full content of the decision.

Pracki: Are the decisions final?

Bancer: Yes. They become legally binding at the moment of their announcement and there is no right of appeal. If, however, some important new circumstances come to light which had not been known at the time when the decision was made, the presidium can, within 3 months, submit the whole matter to be reexamined by the commission again.

Pracki: There are, however, many indications that both the law and society's interests are going to be respected and that the commission will thus be relieved of the duty of having to make final decisions. Thank you for the conversation.

WRITERS UNION'S PROBLEMS VIEWED

AU041420 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 258, 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview given by Halina Auderska, chairman of the Founding Committee of the Union of Polish Writers, to Janusz Glodkiewicz: "The Union of Polish Writers Is Open to All"--date, place not given]

[Text] [Glodkiewicz] How far does the status of the new Union of Polish Writers, which was registered in Warsaw on 11 October, differ in its solutions from the previous status?

[Auderska] Actually, the new statute does not differ from the statute that was in force for many years when Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz was the union's chairman. The basic difference is that the new statute does not extend the membership of the union to the Union of Translations, are authors of creative works such as essays or critical papers, for example. The present union extends membership to the Polish writers who are Polish citizens and publish their works in Poland legally.

[Glodkiewicz] What are the union's immediate plans? The congress of the founding members of the union--of those first 50 persons--will be held in the House of Literature on 4 November to adopt the statute and to elect members of the Main Administration, the Audit Commission, and the Peers' Court [sad kolezenski]. Having done all this, we will be able to set up branches and admit new members.

[Glodkiewicz] How has the writers' community received the establishment of the new union?

[Auderska] Most of us have received it with relief, although it was with regret that we acknowledge the dissolution of the previous union, but there was no other way out. I will not discuss the issue of who is to blame for the dissolution of the old union, but I can say that this dissolution would not have taken place if the previous administration had resigned. Each day I receive letters and telephone calls from the colleagues countrywide who support our initiative and want to join the new Union of Polish Writers. Almost 400 persons have stated their desire to join us.

[Glodkiewicz] Are you afraid that the best writers--the "elite"--will not join the union and that those who will join it will represent the second- or third-class writers?

[Auderska] This is not true. First of all we have outstanding writers such as Teodor Parnicki or Stanislaw Lem who have never been members of any writers' union. Others like Maria Kunciewiczowa were only formally included in the list of union members. There are writers who do no more than stand on the sidelines, but if you take a look at the Warsaw list of writers you will certainly not be able to point to any second-class name. Could you do that in the case of Roman Bratny, Seweryna Szmaglewska and Zbigniew Safjan? It goes without saying that the regional writers who have joined the new union are less known, but this is the fault of publishing policy, although they continue to play important roles in their own regions, especially in the recovered territories.

[Glodkiewicz] The group of the irreconcilables continues to create a very unfriendly atmosphere in connection with your colleagues' initiative and to promote various methods of boycotting the new union. Any examples?

[Auderska] I am perfectly aware of the fact that a group of writers--some 100 persons rallied round the former Main Administration--chiefly from Krakow and Warsaw is trying in various ways to disavow our efforts, but I have nothing to blame myself for. I have tried all the time to be loyal to the former administration and to observe the laws. On two occasions I asked General Jaruzelski for help. I asked him to cancel the suspension of the old union and then to make it possible for the entire Main Administration to hold a meeting. Members of the former administration could have met on 15 June, but to my enormous astonishment they refused this opportunity and even recalled at the last moment their colleagues who had set out for this meeting from all over the country.

[Glodkiewicz] In view of the establishment of the new union voices are being heard that a "purge" is being planned when members come up for approval.

[Auderska] This is nonsense. The members of the dissolved Union of Polish Writers will be able to submit declarations on membership within the next few months. Our congress will define the details of these declarations. This procedure will be taken without the participation of the Approving Commission. They will be admitted merely on the basis of their membership of the former union and their readiness to observe the new union's statute. The other who will not choose this way will have to stand before the Approving Commission in the same way as the new members, whom we call candidates. Recognizing the statute is the only condition for membership. This recognition is confirmed by signing the membership declaration. Our union is open to all.

[Glodkiewicz] There are rumors that writers from other countries are trying to establish contact with the new union.

[Auderska] There is still no question of formal contacts because we still have no foreign commission, but courtesy visits have been paid to me by the chairmen of Slovak Writers Union and the Indian Writers Union.

[Glodkiewicz] Why was it precisely you that have decided to assume the very responsible function of chairman?

[Auderska] I was a member of the Warsaw Administration and the Main Administration of the former union for 12 years. I am convinced that we must have a writers' organization. My relevant experience and the fact that my education in the humanities makes me interested in other people have been among the reasons for my decision.

[Glodkiewicz] You have now devoted yourself to work in the new union wholesale. What about your creative work?

[Auderska] At present I have no time for writing, not even for replying to my friends' letters, but, fortunately, I was able to complete my most recent book some months ago. It is a short novel called "Kill Fear," whose message is that people should not live under pressure from all kinds of fear. This novel will be published by KSIAZKA I WIEDZA. Next year the Radio and Television Publishing House will publish two volumes of my novel about [Polish] Queen Bona entitled "A Dragon in the Coat of Arms." I hope that after a "running in" period I will be able to write again.

CSO: 2600/270



## TRADE UNIONS PROTEST FATS RERATIONING

[Editorial Report] AU101237 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish on 7 November on page 5 carries a 1,100-word report signed "(b)," which states that Premier W. Jaruzelski and other members of the government presidium have received protests from many trade union organizations against the rerationing of butter, lard and margarine. The trade unions in question include the trade union in the H. Cegielski plant in Poznan, the Federation of the Metallurgical Trade Unions, the Federation of the Coalmining Trade Unions, the Federation of Shipyard Trade Unions, the Ema-Wiefamel Trade Union in Poznan, and the Trade Union of the Gorazdze Cement Plant in Chorula. The protests, excerpts from which are cited, include demands that those responsible for the reintroduction of the rationing of fats be punished. In addition, the letter from the Ema-Wiefamel Trade Union demands the cancellation of the decision on reintroduction.

The daily concedes that these trade union protests contain an understandable criticism of the way in which the reintroduction of the fats rationing was carried out, but it states that it is difficult to agree with all demands and proceeds to argue why the reintroduction of the fats rationing was justified and necessary. As for consulting such decisions with trade unions, the daily agrees that trade unionists are right in demanding such consultations, but adds that it is difficult to consult a decision with several thousands of trade union organizations in such a way as not to create a panic in the market and states:

"The state of our economy continues to be not fully normal, and this is why the government is obliged to take the steps that will protect citizens and prevent the situations that can deteriorate the citizens' conditions. That is why the government is unable to consult certain decisions in detail when social order depends on the rapid and efficient implementation of such decisions and on the specific nature of the issues on which they are made."

CSO: 2600/266

ROMANIAN, HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 COMPARED BY ROMANIAN HISTORIAN

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 83 pp 835-837

[Article by Dan Berindei: "The Romanian Revolution and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849: Historical Relationships and Responsibilities"]

[Text] The Romanian Revolution and the Hungarian Revolution marked in Central and Southeastern Europe the areas for the expression of the European revolution of 1848. Without a doubt, we are dealing with two revolutions and the tragic conflict that split them apart at a given moment does not imply labeling one or the other as a counterrevolution. Initially, the Hungarian and Romanian revolutions occurred within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire on the basis of similar positions of combating absolutism and of expressing civil liberties. The outbreak of the revolution in Pesta was greeted with joy not only by the Hungarians, but also by the Romanians as a beginning of a new era of freedom and, certainly, national affirmation. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of Romania, points out: "On 15 March 1848, when the revolution at Pesta broke out proclaiming the elimination of aristocratic supremacy, the breaking down of the social barriers that had impeded the broad development of capitalist production, and the promotion of the principles of equality in social affairs, the revolutionaries in Transylvania - the Romanians as well as the Hungarians, Szecklers, Germans and other nationalities - expressed their solidarity and applauded and supported with all their hearts the militants in Hungary." The first Transylvanian revolutionary manifestations found the Romanians and Hungarians right alongside each other. "With regards to the 11 points," wrote FOAIA PENTRU MINTE, INIMA SI LITERATURA [Paper for the Mind, Hearts and Literature] on 12/24 April in reference to the revolutionary demands of the program put forth in the capital of Hungary, with the exception of the demand concerning "unification," "the Transylvanian Romanians state and serve clear notice for all of Europe to hear that they will stand by only those who will defend and carry out these holy, humane and political-civil rights." Later, especially referring to the Transylvanian coinhabitants, GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA stressed on 7/19 June that "the Hungarians cannot live without us, just as we are naturally tied to an alliance with them, but only in an alliance based on full equality with clear respect for our nationalities."

It is clear that there was a difference between the leaders of the two revolutions. If within the framework of the Hungarian revolutionary processes the decisive word was had by the elements of the liberal nobility, with regards to the Transylvanian aspect of the Romanian Revolution the leaders of this revolution, precisely because

of the political-social situation imposed for centuries upon the Romanians, came from the ranks of the masses, which, undoubtedly, accentuated the democratic and progressive positions of the Romanian Revolution. Furthermore, as the Hungarian historian Ervin Szabo noted, Iancu and the other young Romanians were no less democratic than the most radical Hungarian revolutionaries in the spring of 1848.

The sphere of action for the Hungarian Revolution especially was the social-political arena, not giving the appropriate attention to the nationality problem and the national rights of the coinhabiting peoples within the framework of the existing monarchy. Seeking to explain the errors that had led to the downfall of the Hungarian Revolution, the former president of the Hungarian revolutionary government, Szemere, later noted; "We did not take into consideration that other peoples in Hungary had also especially powerfully developed the national idea." Furthermore, there also were other lucid minds during the time of the Hungarian Revolution who spoke out for finding certain just solutions for the nationality problem. On 14 May 1849, Laszlo Teleki wrote Kossuth that "not only has Austria died, but also the Hungary of Saint Stefan." He fully justifiably added: "Liberty, equality and brotherhood alone do not satisfy the people. They want to live their own national existence...."

Right from the beginning of the spring of 1848 the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution gave priority to the delicate problem of the "unification" between Transylvania and Hungary, without realizing that the absolute majority of the Transylvanian population was objectively pointed not towards a unification with Hungary, but towards a much more natural one with the other Romanian nations. Not only was there talk of placing this problem on a priority basis, but, at the same time, the peasant problem was pushed back to secondary importance, as well as that of at least ensuring a minimum level of national rights for the majority Transylvanian population. Even in March, when Romanian-Hungarian revolutionary cooperation was still active, there were disagreements not only in the "unification" problem, but also with regards to the fact that the Hungarian revolutionaries did not understand how to have the same enthusiasm for the burning problem of the masses concerning the resolution of the overall agrarian problem. On 25 March at Tirgu Mures, at the revolutionary meeting that took place there Hungarian young people refused to place in their petition of demands the question of the peasants, telling the Romanian young people to raise the problem in their own separate petition. This occurred while Iancu was crying out without hesitation: "Do away with these rulers without damage or death!" The even limited resolution of the agrarian problem took place in Transylvania with great delays, with the Romanian meeting in Sibiu in December 1848 calling for the creation of public commissions designed to produce a specific solution to the measures that had been adopted in principle, but insufficiently implemented. Similarly, the very important problem of poverty, which effected hundreds of thousands of peasants, was not resolved.

And, an inequality in treatment was also noted on the political level in applying the revolutionary program to all the inhabitants of Transylvania. For that reason, *GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA* on 3/15 May called for "liberty, equality and

later brotherhood," wanting to stress the fact that the new programs had not yet been spread to the majority population, which also justified the further development of its own course of action in the Romanian Revolution as a natural form of expressing the Romanians' hopes for social-political freedom and national affirmation. In this statement of the course of the Romanian Revolution, it is natural that in drawing up their own program the Romanians stated the most advanced principles. The Hungarian historian Sandor Marki noted more than 80 years ago that the clauses of the national petition in Blaj were not in contradiction to the revolutionary system that had been created in Hungary.

The difference between the two revolutions, however, was the fact that the Romanian Revolution occurred under the objective situation of having to defend the national positions of which they were the exponents. First of all, the Romanians demanded that the unequal situation in their existence be eliminated before any discussion of future projects of cooperation. And, this fundamental demand was not satisfied. For that reason, Simion Barnutiu pointed out in his speech on 2/14 May that the situation here had been created for over a decade, from the time when the Empire had tried to "blend" "all the nations under the Hungarian crown." He contrasted this situation with the fundamental demand of proclaiming and, certainly, achieving "the liberty and independence of the Romanian nation." The text of the first point of the national petition clearly shows what the Romanian revolutionaries understood by their claim: "The Romanian nation, based on the principle of liberty, equality and brotherhood, calls for its national independence in the political sense in order to exist in its name as a Romanian nation; so that the Romanian nation will have its representatives in the country's parliament in accordance with the number of citizens; to have its officials in all the administrative, legal and military branches in the same numerical proportions; to use its language in all the affairs it is involved with, both in laws and in administration..."

The second meeting at Blaj, because of its scope and demands, very clearly expressed the situation that had been created and the fact that there was, by stating it powerfully, also a Romanian Revolution, one vigorously developed in parallel with and, in some regards, opposite to (in the problem of "unification") the Hungarian Revolution. Despite all this, this notice was not understood and the Diet in Cluj imposed the will of the minority upon the great majority of the country, approving the decision regarding "unification" without taking into account the massive opposition that existed. The radical Hungarian newspaper MARCZIUS TIZENOTODILE wrote on 26 May: "In the Ardeal, two powers are to decide on the fate of the union: the diet and the Romanian people. The diet represents only a couple of hundred people - the Romanians mean the entire Ardeal... The union of the Ardeal with Hungary without the consent of the Romanians is something that we should not get involved with."

In addition to the vote for the "unification" of Transylvania with Hungary, during the following months there was a profound crisis in the area of agrarian relationships, where the representative organs of the Hungarian Revolution did not have the participation of the Romanian peasantry, but rather defended the positions of the landowners. Similarly, by not taking into account national



demands - by not putting forth at Pesta the demands expressed on this subject by the Romanian delegates - there was an accentuation of the state of tension. Repressive actions, like those at Mihalt in June or those at Luna in September, also increased the intensity of the conflict, leading in fact to the civil war that followed and to the tragic destiny of both revolutions in the fall of 1848.

The leaders of the Hungarian Revolution, themselves in an especially complicated situation because of the inevitable divorce from the Hapsburgs, did not seek to at least have a dialogue with the Romanians, with the papers even representing Kossuth expressing not only a constraint but also an unjust disregard. In "Kossuth Hirnapja" it writes about the Romanians as if they had based "their nationality, one imagined long ago, upon a nebulous past and upon a premonition of the future" and it eliminates the linguistic claims of the non-Hungarian nationalities by writing that "the Hungarian language will be the sole language of state power," certainly also in Transylvania where the Romanians represented the majority of the inhabitants. Under these conditions, the third meeting at Blaj once again rejected the recognition of the "unification" of Transylvania with Hungary, requested a proportional representation in the diet and in the provisional government in relationship to the numbers of each nationality, and, especially, decided upon the armed uprising of the Transylvanian Romanian population.

In the following month, there were armed conflicts in the tragic and bloody conflict that opposed two peoples and two revolutions. Battles and massacres, terrible bloody trials by commissar Csany with condemnations of death and the confiscation of property, the resistance struggle of the Romanian legions commanded by Avram Iancu in Apuseni, where the repeated attacks by Hungarian army regulars could not defeat Iancu, and the wasting of revolutionary forces because of this were the results of the situation that had been created.

The Romanian revolutionaries had initially been alongside the Hungarians, believing that within the framework of combined actions they would be able to attain the objectives that the two nations had proposed. Minimizing or even ignoring their demands, and especially the failure to accept the historical reality of the parallel existence of the two nations, each with its own natural objectives, led to a separating of the two revolutions and, in the end, their defeat. The combining of Romanian forces with those of the empire must be understood within the framework of this complex situation. The objectives of the Romanian Revolution were neither reactionary nor lacking in revolutionary radicalism, but unfortunately the main adversary in the path of the Romanian Revolution proved to be another revolution, which pursued its own democratic objectives but did not take into account the legitimate national demands of the other peoples involved in the revolutionary processes. The imperial constitution of 25 April 1848 had proclaimed the equal rights of the people, and later the one of Olmutz in March 1849 had recognized the Transylvanian entity, implicitly rejecting the "unification" that had not been accepted by the Romanians. This was not a similarity of social-political positions with the Hapsburg Empire, but rather considerations of necessity under conditions where the rejection of

national recognition brought about cooperation, which nonetheless operated with known limits. It is clear that things would not have reached this situation if the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution had given consideration to the so clearly expressed demands of the Transylvanian Romanians in the spring of 1848.

Also important were the repeated attempts to reconcile the two revolutions. History must recognize the purity of the intentions of delegate Dragos, even if his political views were subordinated to certain illusions. It should never be forgotten that Iancu, after a year of bloody conflicts with the Hungarians, still called them "Hungarian brothers" and that he then pointed out clearly that the Romanians had taken up arms as a response to "a failure to recognize political nationalities" and to "the barbarisms of the Hungarian Transylvanian aristocrats which the people of this era could no longer suffer and whose intelligence was completely disgusting." There was a response to a beautiful letter from the brigade commander Jozsef Simonffy, who had called for a reconciliation. "The Romanians and Hungarians," he wrote, "have the immediate need for the closest brotherhood." Meanwhile, having arrived in Hungary, Balcescu made efforts to reach an understanding, which was also militated for in the paper by Bolliac, "Espatriatul." The efforts of both of these people were to result in the signing of the "draft resolution" and the agreement for the creation of the Romanian legions. It should be noted that these documents, constituting a valuable beginning for agreement between the two revolutions, with Balcescu, furthermore, considering them to be the mandate for the overall Romanian Revolution, reflected merely a minimal program with regards to the national claims of the Romanians. It was, however, a beginning on the basis of which Iancu showed a willingness to end the armed struggle, if he had not been attacked, and which in the future, if not for the end of the revolution because of the repressive intervention of the empire, could have generated a much needed reconciliation between the two nations and the synchronization of their revolutionary struggles and their actions for freedom.

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